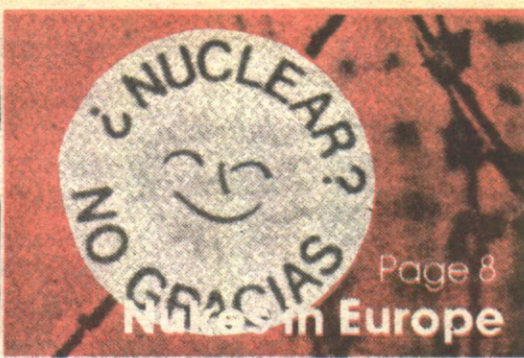


IN THESE TIMES



Vol. 3, No. 41

September 12-18, 1979

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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Ernest Mandel predicts long economic downturn.

Economic slump forecast for world economy

Capitalist economies cannot escape the ups and downs of recovery and recession. There have been six recessions since World War II, and the U.S. is now entering a seventh.

The promise of postwar capitalism rested on its ability to limit, not to avoid, recessions. But the depth of the 1974-'75 recession and the shallowness of the subsequent recovery suggests that this promise cannot be kept.

The 1974-'75 recession was more serious than past recessions (8.9 percent unemployment). It was accompanied by double-digit inflation and rather than occurring in one capitalist country at a time (and permitting them to pull each other out), it occurred in all simultaneously.

During the alleged recovery, unemployment finally dropped to 5.8 percent in 1978, roughly the level of which unemployment peaked in the 1949, 1954, and 1970 recessions. In the European Common Market countries, unemployment has averaged 5.1 percent the last five years, twice the average of the previous five. And new industrial investment has increased an average of 1.5 percent a year during the last five years, compared to 5.6 percent for the previous five.

These dry but depressing figures have suggested to some economists that the capitalist world is not merely going through a recession/recovery cycle, but that it is also experiencing a longrun downturn, which will lead to steeper recessions and shallower recoveries.

Jay W. Forrester, an economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has revived Russian economist Nikolai Kondratieff's theory of long waves, according to which world capitalism goes through 50-year cycles of boom and depression. According to Forrester, the world capitalist economy goes through 30-year expansions followed by 10-year plateaus, 10-year depressions, and 30 years of recovery. He dates previous transition points in 1814, 1870, and 1920, and he speculates that 1970 was the beginning of another plateau, which will be followed by 10 years of depression.

Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Marxist economist, has also resurrected a version of the long wave theory. In *The Second Slump* (Schocken, 1978), an analysis of

This edition (Vol. 3, No. 41) published September 11, 1979 for newsstand sales September 12-September 18.

the 1974-'75 recession, Mandel argues that its depth was caused by the coincidence of a business cycle downturn and a more longrun downturn.

Both Mandel and Forrester point to the development of *surplus capacity* in industry as a key factor in the longrun slump. As a result of the long postwar boom, they argue, capitalist firms can no longer market at acceptable rates of profit all the electrical appliances, automobiles, steel, textiles, and other commodities that they are able to produce.

Mandel finds the situation similar to the 1930s, except in one important respect—the greater strength and organization now of the labor movement and working class parties in Europe—and to some extent, in Japan and North America as well. This greater strength of organized workers prevents the fascist “solutions” to the 1930s’ crisis attempted in Germany, Italy, Spain, and Japan.

Mandel and Forrester’s speculations have been supplemented by several empirical studies. One such study was published this summer by a British economist, Susan Strange, in *International Organization*, a journal dealing with international relations. In an essay entitled “The Management of Surplus Capacity,” Strange documents the capitalist logjam that has occurred with textiles, steel, and shipping.

Bankruptcies and mergers.

In the last 30 years, there has been a persistent problem of surplus capacity in agriculture and some raw materials, which has largely been met by national or regional restrictions on production and by producer cartels. But in the 1970s, the problem has spread to processing and manufacturing industries.

The problem of surplus capacity is peculiar to capitalism. In pre-capitalist or planned economies, surpluses can either be prevented, or if they occur, they can be eliminated by distribution according to need. Capitalist surplus capacity is too many goods, not relative to people’s needs, but to their ability to buy at prices satisfactory to corporate producers.

The current problem of surplus capacity arose from the rapid reconstruction of Western Europe and Japan, which fuelled the postwar boom, but has now led to massive duplication of effort and the threat of a trade war, and the recent industrialization of the Third World, which has poured more goods onto the world market without providing a corresponding increase in world demand.

The three industries Strange discusses typify the problem. Textile production has spread to Brazil, Colombia, Hong Kong, Singapore, Macao, Malaysia, Taiwan, and Eastern Europe. Brazil and South Korea have their own steel and shipbuilding industries. West Germany and Japan have supplanted the U.S. in steel production. And Japan has challenged Europe’s supremacy in shipbuilding.

There have been several immediate consequences of surplus capacity:

- Firms have tried to cut wages and costs, but to the extent they have been unable to, there has been a general decline in profitability. Each industry’s weaker firms have faced bankruptcy. In steel producing, Spain’s *Empresa Nacional Siderurgica* and Italy’s *Italsider*; in autos, the British Leyland Co. and Chrysler Corp.

- Corporate managers in industries that are suffering from surplus capacity have used their profits to diversify rather than expand production or increase efficiency. U.S. Steel now gets 43 percent of its profits outside of steel. RCA, which used to be known for its innovations, recently spent \$1.3 billion to purchase CIT Financial Corp.

- Firms have fled to low-wage areas both in the

Third World and within their own countries.

- Overall industrial investment has declined.

- And, as Strange documents, a host of protectionist measures have been erected, particularly in the U.S. and Western Europe, to keep out less expensive imports in steel, textiles, and other commodities.

Remedies fail.

The immediate remedies attempted by corporations and governments have only made things worse. The flight of firms to the Third World and the build-up of industrial capacity in Third World countries has occurred within the framework of world imperialism—the Brazilian auto or textile industries or Taiwan’s television industry manufacture for export—and not for an internal market. Industrialization in these countries is invariably based on the general impoverishment of the people, which it perpetuates. It has led to an influx of new goods on the world market without a substantial increase in demand.

Government creation of “orderly marketing agreements,” import quotas, or special pricing agreements to protect domestic industries has probably prevented layoffs, but it also has encouraged domestic inflation and raised the spectre of a trade war.

And government deficit financing, which has been used to maintain demand, ease the crunch of unemployment, and subsidize ailing industries, has also encouraged inflation by infusing credit into an economy unwilling to expand fast enough to absorb it. The result has been simultaneous unemployment and inflation.

The OPEC detonator.

In contrast to most economists, Mandel de-emphasizes the role of the energy crisis in the 1974-'75 slump and in the subsequent flagging recovery. The rise in oil prices, according to Mandel, “intensified trends that were already inherent in the cycle.” Mandel cites American economist William Nordhaus’ study of postwar rates of profit, which showed a decline beginning in 1966, well before the onset of the energy crisis. This decline Mandel traces to surplus capacity and a working class powerful enough to gain wage and benefit increases for itself. The energy crisis was merely the “detonator” of the 1974-'75 slump, a role it is also playing in the 1979-'80 slump.

Neither Mandel nor Forrester expect the kind of crash that occurred in the 1930s. But Mandel warns that it could occur in the event of a major bank crisis, the bankruptcy of a heavily indebted Third World country like Peru or Zaire, or the collapse of the dollar as an international currency.

Forrester sees a solution to the depression of the '80s in a new wave of technological innovation, which will provide both an area of investment and a source of greater productivity and lower costs. In a *Business Week* interview, Forrester speculates that the new innovations could be biological in origin.

Mandel thinks that an upturn is impossible “without a very severe political and social defeat for the proletariat of the imperialist countries, the colonial revolution and/or the bureaucratized workers’ states.” Such a defeat could provide capital with new profit margins and new markets.

Mandel expects battles between labor and capital comparable in their scope and intensity to the battles of the '30s and '40s. He warns that workers could once again be facing a choice between “socialism and barbarism.”

On the basis of his optimism and his belief that workers are in a much stronger position now than they were at the beginning of the '30s, Mandel thinks that this time the West may opt for the former rather than the latter. ■

IN THESE TIMES

(USPS 352-310)

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 48 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, the last week of July, the first week of August and the last week of December by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Ill. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

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IN THESE TIMES

UFW wins Salinas contract



By Sam Kushner

LOS ANGELES

THE CELEBRATION THAT accompanied the Labor Day weekend at Salinas, Calif., was one of the most joyous in the nation after the Aug. 31 announcement that the largest lettuce producer in the United States had reached an agreement with the United Farm Workers (UFW).

The settlement ended the nationwide boycott of United Brands products, of which Sun Harvest brands is a subsidiary, and marked a major breakthrough in the nine month old lettuce pickers strike.

Sun Harvest, which employs between 1,000 and 1,400 workers, has fields throughout California, including Calexico, Huerfano, Brantwood, Oxnard and Salinas.

In addition, the company has lettuce fields at two locations in Arizona.

The UFW is fast becoming known as the "Five Dollar Union" among California vegetable workers. The Sun Harvest agreement was the fourth in recent weeks where the UFW has signed a contract guaranteeing a minimum common labor rate of \$5 per hour. When the workers went out on strike in mid January, the labor rate in the fields was \$3.70 per hour.

In the third year of the agreement, the field labor rate, without piece work, will be \$5.70 per hour.

"This is a victory for all workers in this state, not just for those at Sun Harvest," said Jerry Conon, the UFW's chief negotiator in the Salinas area. "It was really sweet," he added, agreeing with other union officials that farm workers have proven in this strike and in the victories achieved elsewhere that they will no longer remain at the bottom of the economic ladder.

From the UFW's national headquarters at Keene, Calif., UFW president Cesar Chavez said the agreement "reflects the vision and courage of Sun Harvest in helping to bring this dispute to an end." He described the three year contract as a "victory for both the workers and the company."

But in Salinas, workers who had walked the picket lines were less magnanimous.

"We beat them, we won. We forced them to their knees," said workers, many of whom suffered beatings at the hands of strikebreakers imported into the area.

Trade unionists throughout the state hailed the UFW victory over the Labor Day weekend. In the labor movement it has become axiomatic that the longer the strike, the less chance there is of winning one's major demands. The Sun Harvest strike proved to be an exception to that rule. When the strike began, the company, in concert with others in the vegetable fields, offered a seven percent increase in line with President Carter's wage guidelines.

In addition, Sun Harvest and more than two dozen other growers demanded major contract changes that would have weakened the UFW. So far the growers have accomplished none of their goals, and have conceded major contract language changes that will strengthen the union's ability to enforce the agreements.

Breaking the log jam.

The log jam in the Salinas negotiations burst on Aug. 12 when the Meyer Tomato Company broke away from the industry wide bargaining group and signed the \$5 per hour minimum labor rate agreement with the UFW. Just a few days later another tomato grower, Gonzales Packing, followed suit and signed a contract that duplicated the wage, fringe benefit and contract language features of the initial agreement signed with Meyer.

At that time growers' representatives

UFW celebrated Labor Day with a Sun Harvest lettuce contract. The UFW is becoming known as a \$5 hr. union.

publicly denigrated these settlements and claimed that the conditions in the short season tomato fields being different from the lettuce, broccoli and other vegetable fields, did not set a pattern for the lettuce fields.

Meanwhile, an unusual development took place at the one Salinas area ranch still under contract with the Teamsters Union. The Bud Antle Company, which has been involved in a bitter internal struggle among past and present officers of Teamster Local 890, reached a tentative agreement of less than \$5 per hour, but rank and file resentment and militant action forced Antle to raise its offer to \$5 per hour. The Antle agreement however provides none of the contractual safeguards that are contained in the UFW agreements.

Along with the boycott against Sun Harvest, the UFW concentrated on another lettuce grower, West Coast Farms. During the early morning hours of Aug. 26 the UFW concluded its first settlement with a lettuce firm when West Coast Farms signed up. This agreement cut the ground from under the feet of many of the other growers. The West Coast agreement featured the following terms:

- A three year contract that would provide \$6.20 per hour for common labor by July 15, 1981. This new rate will be effective if the rate of inflation continues at the present level. Otherwise the common labor rate will be no less than \$5.70 per hour.
- In the event that workers are displaced

by machines the number of jobs would be subject to negotiation, with the union having the right to strike if no agreement is reached.

- Piece work rates were raised to 75 cents per carton (24 heads of lettuce). This contrasts with the old contract rate of 58 cents per carton. It is estimated that on a normal field, under fair conditions, lettuce cutters will earn \$13.50 per hour the first year, \$14.22 the second year and \$14.76 in the final contract year.

- The company will pay for union representatives to police the contract.

- Striking workers will receive an average of \$700 back pay, retroactive to Dec. 2, 1978.

- Substantial increases in company contributions to the union run health and welfare plan, which is called the Robert F. Kennedy Plan.

Unionization sweeps the fields.

This settlement encouraged pro-union sentiment in the fields. The workers at Frudden Produce, a tomato producing firm, walked off the job demanding the same kind of contract that the UFW had won at the West Coast, Meyer, and Gonzales companies. Under the California Labor Relations Act striking workers can demand representation elections within three working days and election was scheduled for Aug. 29.

When the ballots were counted 201 voted for the UFW and only four against. There were 10 challenged votes.

On the day that Sun Harvest settled with the UFW the workers at Mission Packing walked off the job. In an attempt to prevent the unionization of its workers, Mission announced that it was paying 77 cents a carton of lettuce picked. Despite this higher rate 80 percent of the workers left the fields and signed up with the union. An election was scheduled at Mission for the day after Labor Day.

In an attempt to avoid union organization Hansen Farms raised its labor rate to \$5.06 an hour and 76 cents per box for lettuce picked.

After the Sun Harvest agreement was signed Marshall Ganz, a union organizer and member of the UFW's Executive

Continued on page 5.

Farm workers win suit

Five years ago 19 farm workers were killed and 28 injured in a bus accident near Blythe, Calif., while being driven to the High and Mighty farm from the Mexican border.

On Aug. 28 survivor and relatives reached an out of court settlement for \$1.2 million. The defendants were Riverside County and the Palos Verde Irrigation District, General Motors and the Ward Bus Co. of Arkansas and Texas and High and Mighty farms of Blythe.

The disaster took place about dawn on Jan. 15, 1974 while the bus was enroute to the lush fields of the Palos Verde Valley near the Colorado River. Most of the workers were Mexican nationals.

The bus turned over into a drainage ditch while taking a curve. Survivors contended that the bus was being driven too fast and that the seats were not properly fastened to the floor. The bus landed in the ditch on its side and 19 workers trapped beneath the seats drowned in water 10 feet deep.

David B. Epstein, the lawyer representing the workers, said that the High and Mighty company had been named in the suit because it was aware that the bus was unsafe, and that the driver Pablo Navarro Arellanos, 54, was overworked and exhausted at the time of the accident. Arellanos was em-

ployed as a company foreman in addition to being the bus driver. The claimants contended that he received only three to four hours sleep each night because of his multiple company responsibilities.

Because some of the dead farm workers had no living relatives and some of the injuries were relatively minor, the settlement covered only 13 of those drowned and 22 of the injured.

In commenting on the settlement Epstein said this case puts the legal responsibility on the growers for the welfare of their employees. In the past the growers have used farm labor contractors, thinly disguised employees of the growers, to insulate themselves from such responsibility.

At the time of the tragedy the United Farm Workers (UFW) had warned that many school buses used in California were in bad shape. The UFW also charged that the state safety inspectors failed to keep the buses up to legal safety standards.

Those with lesser injuries were awarded between \$3,000 and \$4,000 each. The largest award was to Esther Villa de Mendoza. She was awarded approximately \$250,000. She lost her husband Manuel, 43, and three children—Lucia, 19, Maria, 18 and Javier, 16.

—Sam Kushner

IN THE NATION

ESPIONAGE

Letelier-Moffitt investigation curbs Chile's spy network

The Junta has disbanded DINA, eased restrictions on the press, and curtailed overseas spying as a result of the Letelier case.

By Saul Landau

WASHINGTON

S EPT. 21, 1979, THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY of the car-bomb assassinations of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt, may be chosen by the Chilean Appeals Court to announce its final decision on whether to extradite three Chilean secret police officials indicted for the deaths, according to U.S. government sources, who recall that the administration chose last year's anniversary to deliver the extradition papers to the Chilean government.

The two and a half year investigation and trial of the Letelier-Moffitt case has produced some important political impacts, say U.S. State and Justice Department officials. They say these include:

- Forcing Chilean Dictator General Augusto Pinochet to disband his personal creation, DINA, Chile's dreaded secret police who terrorized the entire population for almost four years, and planned the Letelier murder.

- Causing the forced retirement of the head of DINA, General Manuel Contreras, once the second most powerful man in Chile, and his eventual arrest and detention in a military hospital.

- Weakening Pinochet's one-man hold over the country.

- Easing restrictions on the muzzling of the Chilean press.

- Improving at least slightly the human rights situation in Chile, which still remains one of the worst in the world.

- Forcing the breakup of a secret police operation run by five different countries in South America, including Chile, whose primary objective was the assassination of political opponents.

Investigators from the Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Intelligence Activities in the U.S., chaired by Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) issued a report that confirmed that OPERATION CONDOR was designed to eliminate political opposition in foreign countries, and that Letelier was a victim of this network. Born in the mind of Chile's DINA chief Gen. Manuel Contreras, Operation CONDOR meant the formal unification of the intelligence services of Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay, with looser ties to Bolivia and other Latin American republics. According to Senate and FBI sources the CONDOR network began as an informal arrangement in 1974. When dissidents of other member countries were spotted entering a country, their arrival was reported to their home country through a computer system supplied by the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID). The receiving country then allowed the secret police of the home country to spy on the dissidents.

The third stage in the CONDOR operation was physical elimination. This was done on orders of the secret police of the dissident's home country, but ex-

Continued on page 6.



Orlando Letelier under arrest following 1973 coup in Chile.

Chilean airline implicated in dynamite smuggling

By Kate-Louise Gottfried

THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE murder of exiled Chilean Cabinet Minister Orlando Letelier and an American colleague Ronni Moffitt reveals that Lan-Chile, the state-owned commercial airline, cooperated with the Chilean military government to illegally transport explosives for terrorist missions abroad. As a result, some Federal investigators are urging a probe of the airline's involvement with criminal activities in the United States.

The impending probe is the latest spin off of the U.S. government investigation into the Sept. 21, 1976 car-bomb assassinations of Letelier and Moffitt. The U.S. Justice Department has established that the bombing was ordered by DINA (renamed CON in 1977), the Chilean secret police.

DINA agent Michael Vernon Townley, a convicted assassin in the Letelier-Moffitt case, gave a detailed confession to U.S. investigators. Townley's confession revealed that the Letelier-Moffitt murders were part of a worldwide opera-

tion in which DINA spied on and assassinated its exiled political opponents. According to Townley, Lan-Chile played an important role in providing logistical support for these activities, and he described Lan's illegal involvement in the Letelier-Moffitt case. During the investigation, he also disclosed Lan-Chile's involvement in terrorist missions in Paraguay and Germany.

Federal regulations prohibit carrying high explosives on a passenger carrier. Townley, a DINA agent since early 1974, told assistant U.S. Attorney Eugene Proper that C-4 plastic explosives and TNT were "placed in envelopes and sent as correspondence through friendly Lan-Chile pilots" to members of the Cuban Nationalist Movement (CNM), the U.S. based anti-Castro group that also took part in the Letelier-Moffitt bombing. In sworn depositions to the FBI Townley also revealed how "TNT handed over... by Novo and Suarez (two CNM members also indicted for the Letelier-Moffitt murders) had previously been sent by him via Lan-Chile airways to the CNM in order to carry out an attempted bombing operation in Mexico City during February and March, 1975."

In the January trial of three CNM members convicted in the slayings, Townley described how he cultivated the pilots, "I attempted to make friendly contact with numerous Lan-Chile pilots, and with some ground personnel," he testified, "so as to be able to send correspondence, letters and small packages utilizing the friendship of these pilots."

The pilots were understandably reluctant to refuse any "favors" that Chile's influential police requested, and DINA often pressured them into acting as couriers.

By carrying explosives to this country, Lan-Chile personnel helped DINA carry out assassinations. Because Lan-Chile pilots, like most airline crew members, were given special treatment by customs officials, they were able to bypass U.S. customs checks and provided an important means for getting DINA's explosives into this country.

DINA also recruited Lan-Chile executives to aid its operations abroad. Fernando Cruchaga, a New York official for the airline, accompanied Townley to an Avis rental office to help him obtain the car he used while in the New York area. Townley had no credit cards under

his false identity, so Cruchaga vouched for him. Townley also testified that he used the Lan-Chile lounge at John F. Kennedy International Airport to plot details of the Letelier assassination with Captain Armando Fernandez Larios. Townley met Fernandez at Kennedy Airport on Sept. 9. Fernandez Larios is one of three DINA officials now sought by the U.S. to stand trial here for complicity in the Letelier-Moffitt assassinations.

U.S. government investigators also said that on at least three occasions, a Lan-Chile employee acted as a DINA spy informing Townley and other DINA officials in Chile of meetings between Orlando Letelier and Gabriel Valdes, the UN Assistant Administrator and Director of the Regional Bureau for Latin America.

Townley also made use of Lan-Chile. He told investigators that on the day his homemade bomb killed Letelier and Moffitt he "contacted a Lan-Chile pilot, who agreed to sign a voucher for a one-way return ticket to Santiago...in the name of Kenneth Enyart." The Lan-Chile pilot's private company account covered the cost of the ticket under this false identity.

NUCLEAR POWER



By Timothy Lange

Peter Brennan, president of the Building and Construction Trades of the AFL-CIO.

Pro-nuke rally draws big crowd

One speaker told the largest pro-nuclear rally ever that opponents of nuclear power were "all in the stop mode and none in the go mode. This country was built on the go mode."

DENVER
IN WHAT ORGANIZERS CALLED THE largest pro-nuclear rally ever, about 15,000 demonstrators, including ex-Nixon Labor Department head Peter Brennan and singer Boots Randolph, gathered Aug. 26 on land around the Rocky Flats nuclear bomb-trigger factory northwest of Denver.

The huge turnout, which some sources pegged closer to 10,000, was put together by the three month old Citizens for Energy and Freedom (CEF) in response to the last anti-nuke demonstration at the Flats Apr. 28-29. That demonstration also drew 15,000, with 289 arrested (and since convicted) for civil disobedience.

A CEF leader said perhaps up to half the pro-nuke demonstrators were Rocky Flats workers and their families and friends. The age of participants was considerably higher than the twentyish crowds that dominate anti-nuke rallies at Rocky Flats. Besides many retired people, there were many children. Opponents rarely bring children to protests at the plant because they fear harm from plutonium

found in soil around the site.

Sporting signs, tee shirts and stickers saying "More Nukes, Less Kooks" and "Power for the People," the demonstrators settled in for the four hour gathering of speakers and music, often waving small American flags that had been distributed. The Cold War atmosphere was boosted by speakers who argued Rocky Flats' weapons are needed to keep the

Soviet Union in line. Most speakers focused on the need for nuclear power as well.

Brennan, now president of the Building and Construction Trades of the AFL-CIO, told cheering listeners "you don't intend to let any pack of (anti-nuclear) kooks take those hard-earned jobs and gains from you." He also claimed that, "There was never any danger of a meltdown at Three Mile Island."

Another speaker was Petr Beckmann, a University of Colorado electrical engineering professor who has written a sarcastic book calling nuclear opponents simpletons and argued that other forms of power generation are more hazardous than atomic.

CEF was formed and the demonstration planned after April's anti-nuke rally sparked an employee initiated petition at the Flats. The group mailed 3000 letters and advertised frequently in the local press. According to CEF chairman Art Benjamin, who is operations director at the plant, the group received 7000 contributions from unions, veterans clubs, scientific and social groups and individuals.

One contributor was Rockwell International, the company which operates the government owned facility, and the nation's No. 10 defense contractor. Benjamin wouldn't say how much Rockwell

gave, nor put a total on the rally's cost except to agree it was "in the thousands." He told *IN THESE TIMES* he was upset at the lack of national media attention and complained the local press "came to write our epitaph."

Of the pro-nuke demonstrators, he said, "these families are taxpayers. They're citizens who are working and supporting families. They're concerned about the price of energy." He characterized nuclear opponents as being "all in the stop mode, none in the go mode. This country was built on go mode."

The CEF treasurer is Pat Kelly, president of United Steelworkers Local 8031, which includes a large portion of the 3000 Rocky Flats employees. Kelly is an outspoken defender of the plant in particular and nuclear weapons and power in general.

Union connections aided in building the pro-nuke demonstration. In the case of the Denver bus drivers local, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1001, union solidarity won out over some uneasiness with the issue, according to one rank-and-filer. A voice vote overwhelmingly approved a \$50 contribution to CEF. "But, they sort of sprung it on us," the driver complained of the union's leaders, adding that she thought many drivers favored contributing simply because "we've got to support unions."

Carol Rothman of the Rocky Flats Action Group, which has built grassroots opposition to the plant for five years, said, "We're real glad [the demonstration] happened because it means the issue is being raised and debated. When it reaches the level of controversy it has, you can expect this kind of response." On the other hand, Rothman was disappointed so many workers believe opposition to Rocky Flats threatens their jobs. From its inception, the Action Group has argued that the weapons plant could be converted to peacetime production without loss of employment.

Other nuclear facility workers could soon follow CEF's lead with actions of their own. Benjamin said the organization has received inquiries in this regard. ■

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Plus:

New information on the murder case

Letelier

Continued from page 5.

executed by nationals of the host country. So Chilean exile General Carlos Prats, for example, was ordered watched by Chilean DINA agents. When Contreras ordered Prats' assassination, Argentine killers connected with Argentina's secret police did the actual bombing.

Investigators also pointed to an attempt by Contreras to set up a CONDOR station in Miami. Initial reports indicated that Secretary of State Kissinger himself had given preliminary approval to the plan, but that members of other U.S. security agencies prevented the Miami operation from becoming functional.

Investigators for the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) discovered that several meetings took place from the fall of 1975 through the summer of 1976 involving DINA undercover agents and Miami-based Cuban exile terrorists. At one of these meetings, in November

1975 at the home of Juan Gonzalez in Miami, Julio Solarzano and Pablo Garcia, both identified by federal sources as DINA personnel, offered explosives, arms, false official passports and the sanctuary of Chilean soil to members of several Cuban exile organizations in exchange for services described by a witness to the meeting as "performing assassinations and surveillance."

At another meeting, DINA agents Hector Duran and Eduardo Sepulveda, using the Chilean consular office in Miami as cover, met with leaders of Bay of Pigs Veterans Brigade at a sea food restaurant in Coral Gables. Miami police surveilling the meeting did not hear the discussion, but according to an informer inside the exiles veterans brigade, the Chileans offered the Cubans services and explosives in exchange for certain assassinations.

The U.S. probe into the Letelier case carried into South America and so disturbed the functioning of CONDOR that its founders agreed to disband. Contreras' fall as head of DINA made it unlikely, said federal sources, that it will regroup again in the foreseeable future. ■

EDUCATION

Voucher plan threatens public schools

By Patrick G. Marshall

WHILE CALIFORNIA PUBLIC schools are still reeling from the impact of Proposition 13 tax cuts, voters here may be on the verge of passing yet another experiment in public finance, one that could change the entire system of public education.

The new proposal, known as the voucher plan, would give parents the option of receiving funds directly for their children's schooling in the form of educational vouchers redeemable for services at a school the family chooses, whether public or private.

Backers of the proposal expect to place it before the California voters this June in the form of a constitutional amendment. Critics agree that the measure's chances of passing are good, and the debate is already raging.

Supporting the proposed system is a mix of university educators, liberal reformers, private school operators, fundamentalist religious groups, conservative libertarians and others. They hope that by putting the money for their children's education in families' hands, equal opportunities would be provided without the complications of compulsory busing and overweight bureaucracy. They also hope that the voucher plan would improve public schools by forcing them to compete with each other and with private schools for students.

Critics, who include public school administrators and teachers unions, insist that the voucher plan would at best injure public education and at worse lead to its complete dismantling.

"This goes beyond partisan politics," explained one union official. "We fear the same thing that the administrators do."

The initiative, drafted by law professors John Coons and Stephen Sugarman of the University of California, appears simple in design. Its central idea, Coons says, is to stimulate the schools and force them to be more responsive to the needs of their "customers" by creating a system in which they must compete for students.

But critics argue that an experiment of this scale should not use the state's entire school system as a guinea pig.

Under the proposed amendment, schools would be classified into four categories—traditional public schools, independent public schools, family choice schools and private schools. Of these, only traditional public and private schools would continue under existing regulations, and would not be eligible to receive vouchers.

Independent public schools would be



Critics of the voucher plan claim that its real intent is to avoid integration and rationalize white flight from public schools.

set up by public school systems upon petition by a certain number of families. These schools would be governed by parents, teachers and trustees, and would be bound only by minimal regulations as to curricula and organization.

Family choice schools would be those private schools, whether profit-making or non-profit, that become eligible to receive vouchers by agreeing to conform to minimal state regulations.

In addition to assuring that every voucher school is open to applicants, regardless of race or class, the plan would provide free transportation for students within a certain distance (to be determined by the legislature).

When a student chooses to leave the traditional public school for an independent or family choice school, the student would take their portion of the state's educational funds in the form of a voucher. The value of vouchers would vary according to need, but in no case would the average cost be allowed to exceed the per capita expenditures for education in the traditional public schools.

"Public institutions, including the schools, must have the capacity to die when they're not wanted by their customers," says Coons. "I believe that the public schools will not only survive, but they could greatly improve under the voucher system. If, on the other hand, the public schools can't attract enough students, why should they survive?"

pay for union representatives in the fields to be a major breakthrough. He also noted that company attempts to modify the old contracts, which would have limited the union's right to discipline workers, was rebuffed.

What the companies did not win through collective bargaining they are trying to win in the legislature. The California senate and assembly have passed the Nimmo Bill, which would limit workers' "good standing" only to those who offer to pay their dues to the union. This would cripple the union's effective political action program whereby each union member contributes a day's pay annually to the Citizenship Participation Day Program.

Cohen expressed hope that the assembly will reverse this attempt to amend the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act. Otherwise he said, he was confident that Governor Jerry Brown would veto the proposed law.

At their Aug. 31 rally, the Sun Harvest workers pledged to remain on a "war footing" and to assist their fellow workers on ranches not yet signed up with picketing and boycotting.

Many private school operators voice similar sentiments. "If they can put us out of business, more power to them," said Lucia Blakeslee, regional director of Independent Learning Schools. "That will mean that they're giving quality education again. Then I'll go back to teaching in the public schools and feel good about it."

But Herbert Sussman, chancellor of the City Colleges of San Francisco, warns that "this plan would put the nails in the coffin of public education. Whatever else it may do, the voucher system would almost certainly be a step backwards from achieving the kind of integration we need if we're going to have equitable education for all."

Many school officials agree with Sussman. While conceding that the plan would permit greater choice in education, and perhaps even a healthy diversity of programs, they fear that it would benefit mainly upper and middle class families. "The end result," according to Robert Alioto, superintendent of the San Francisco public schools, "would be a system of education which would be completely fragmented on class lines. That's the opposite of what we've been trying to achieve."

Other critics even feel that, far from being just an unfortunate effect of the voucher proposal, this fragmentation is one of the primary motives of those who support it. "If this thing passes," says Ralph Flynn, executive director of the California Teachers Association (CTA), "it will be the anti-busing people that carry it through. The recent growth in private schools is the result of urban middle class families who don't want their kids bussed. Now they want public support to keep their kids out of the public schools."

Coons, on the other hand, believes that the system would give integration a push it hasn't had under the current system.

"It's my belief that people would voluntarily integrate in a system in which they have plenty of information and are encouraged to do so. The poor are not stupid—they want quality education just like everyone else."

Coons concedes that there would probably be some schools that only whites will attend and some schools that only blacks will attend. "On the other hand," he says, "there's not much integration going on right now because of geographic segregation. If you've got residential segregation, it's tough to have educational integration. We think the only way is to give people access to whatever schools

they choose."

The conflicting predictions regarding effects on integration are paralleled by predictions about costs.

Coons and Sugarman believe that their system would save money by encouraging smaller schools, which would allow a paring down of administrative machinery.

Critics argue that both bureaucracy and expenses would proliferate. "The idea that the federal and state governments are going to turn over public funds without significant restraints is something that never was and never will be," said one official. "Some money might be saved at the administrative level of individual schools, but not much compared to the costs involved in monitoring all the small schools that would spring up."

To the CTA's Ralph Flynn, the voucher plan is "a statement of despair. It's an assertion that something must be done. But I don't think that a voucher system is the right answer."

"Most of what we know about how this would work in theory," concedes Coons, "but it does have some basis in experience. We have reason to believe that once families get involved again in education they will want to make it work."

"The private schools as they are now isolate social classes without providing alternatives to any except those who can afford them," remarked Harvard sociology professor Christopher Jencks, designer of the only significant effort thus far to establish a voucher plan, in Alum Rock, Calif. "If the voucher system succeeds, it would give those alternatives to everyone."

If the plan does make it to the June ballot, voters will have to choose between directly conflicting claims. They will hear supporters argue that the voucher system would save money while opponents warn it will raise costs. Supporters insist it will aid desegregation. Opponents will call it a flight from integration.

One thing at least will be clear: such a system would represent not so much a reform in education as a giant experiment with vast implications for millions of children. In its only test so far, in Alum Rock, private schools chose not to participate, so the results were inconclusive.

If established in California by constitutional amendment, the voucher system could not be repealed for 10 years, and then only by a two-thirds majority of the legislature or by another voter initiative.

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UFW

Continued from page 3.

Board, said "workers are coming into the office that we have never heard of and are asking us to organize them." Non-union firms, trying desperately to avoid organization, instituted the union wage scale.

Meanwhile union organizers have been travelling throughout the country preparing to shift the boycott to the two dozen companies that have not reached an agreement with the UFW. The boycott of all United Brand products—Chiquita Bananas, A & W Root Beer and John Morrell meat products—has come to an end.

Key contractual issues won at Sun Harvest, according to Cohen, included a major increase in health and welfare benefits for Sun workers, regardless of whether they worked a full day picking lemons. He said the UFW also won the agreement to prohibit the company from

IN THE WORLD

EUROPEAN ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENTS

Lionel Delevingne



Demonstrators in West Germany hold a sign that says, "Atomic Power: the monster is among us!"

European anti-nuclear forces cut across old party lines

By Betsy Taylor

The leaders of the major western industrialized nations have agreed to cooperate in advancing nuclear power as a solution to the oil crisis that afflicts them all. Multinational corporations like Westinghouse, General Electric, Framatome, and Kraftwerk Union have attempted to secure nuclear power at home and expand their operations abroad. At the same time anti-nuclear activists from Berlin to Berkeley have increased their own international communication and cooperation and stepped up their efforts to stop nuclear power.

What follows is a summary of the anti-nuclear movements in western Europe, the extent of their popular support and the political activity they are presently pursuing.

FRANCE:

France's nuclear energy program is the most ambitious and reckless in the world. It includes the large-scale manufacture of nuclear plants for export and domestic use, a reprocessing facility, waste disposal experimentation and the Super Phenix Fast Breeder Reactor in Creys Malville. The program has been developed with minimum citizen input and maximum official secrecy.

Les Amis de la Terre (Friends of the Earth) representative Pierre Samuel claims that government support for renewable resources is almost nonexistent. Instead, President Giscard d'Estaing, having substantial family investments in the French nuclear firm Framatome, is promoting a comprehensive nuclear program.

The French police, considered more brutal than their European counterparts when it comes to nuclear protest, have discouraged direct action and civil disobedience. Following the 1977 Malville demonstration, where one person died, two lost limbs and over 100 others were

The nuclear issue has rearranged political alignments from Spain to Sweden, in France and Germany.

injured, police set about smashing protesters' windshields and slashing tires of cars. During the two days of international protest in June, many Germans and Luxembourgers trying to cross the French border were harassed by police and not permitted to enter the country.

Currently an anti-nuclear coalition is mounting a national petition drive. The coalition, which includes the Socialist Party, Les Amis de la Terre, the CFDT (France's largest trade union organization), the Consumers' Union and several autonomous anti-nuclear groups, wants an immediate halt to construction of the breeder reactor and the reprocessing of spent fuel until a national, democratic debate is conducted on France's nuclear program. They also want suspension of further construction on all nuclear facilities until a satisfactory investigation of Three Mile Island is completed. The French Communist Party (PCF) has not joined the anti-nuclear coalition. Apparently the PCF supports the breeder and reprocessing program on the grounds that such support is anti-American and thus consistent with the party line. The Socialist Party (20-25 percent of the voting population) has joined the coalition and given it unexpected clout. With the combined support of the party and the trade union movement, petition organizers hope to secure two million names during the next few months.

WEST GERMANY:

Despite growing public concern and political uncertainty about nuclear power,

the German federal government is determined to expand its atomic program. With 14 operating facilities and nine under construction, Germany ranks fifth in the international nuclear club. A model fast breeder reactor is scheduled for completion in 1984. Despite the postponement of a construction license for a waste repository and fuel reprocessing plant at Gorleben, this project continues to be a government priority.

Opposition to nuclear power in Germany cuts across all political and socioeconomic lines. Protest was triggered by wealthy farmers who wanted to protect their vineyards from the threat of contamination. As in the U.S., every proposed site spawned a new citizens' group or *burgerinitiative* opposing plant construction. The Federal Association of Environmental Action Groups (BBU), which includes nearly 1000 affiliated groups, serves as a national clearinghouse for the movement.

Sizeable factions of the Social Democrat (SPD), Communist, and Free Democrat parties have joined the movement, bringing the nuclear issue to the forefront of partisan politics. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt has threatened to resign if his SPD party takes up opposition to nuclear power. The party's national convention is in December and at least one powerful faction, the Baden-Wuerttemberg state party leadership, plans to propose a moratorium on new nuclear construction.

Several smaller political groups on the left and right have become very active in

the movement. Some of the communist factions, primarily the Maoists, have stirred up controversy by advocating violence. And on the right wealthy neo-fascist environmentalists are advocating that the military be used to shut down Germany's nuclear program.

Direct action has played a prominent part in slowing the German program. Demonstrations at Wyhl, Brokdorf, Grohnde, Kalkar, and Gorleben have received international attention. In contrast to American demonstrations, many German gatherings have been marred by violence and police brutality. Civil disobedience cannot be easily organized because it is illegal to publicly call for civil disobedience. Police and demonstrators battled in Brokdorf and Grohnde. Police were equipped with water cannons, chemical mace, helicopters and guns. A small number of demonstrators came armed with chains, gas masks, shields, ropes and clubs. Although non-violent "marshalls" attempted to separate the demonstrators from the police, they were unsuccessful and many were injured in the crossfire.

SPAIN:

In 1975, the Spanish Government approved one of the world's most ambitious nuclear development programs and in 1977 Basque guerrillas launched the world's first armed offensive against a nuclear plant. As the host country of the world's largest anti-nuclear demonstration—150,000 people, July 14, 1977—Spain has won a place in anti-nuclear history.

Currently Spain has three operating reactors, seven under construction and eight more awaiting construction permits. With 75 percent of its energy supplied by imported oil, the Spanish Government is committed to an ambitious schedule for nuclear development. All the major parliamentary parties, including the Socialists and Communists have accepted the nuclear option. Only the local, unaffiliated ultra-left and separatist parties have condemned the energy plan.

Spain's anti-nuclear movement is split into numerous local associations, reflecting the country's enthusiasm for regional identity. National coordination has been difficult, if not impossible. The opposition to nuclear development is strongest in the two separatist regions of Catalunya and the Basque country. Not surprisingly, these two regions have been chosen by the government as the hosts for nearly all the country's nuclear reactors. The anti-nuclear struggle has frequently become only part of a larger movement for political separation.

Groups in Catalunya and the Basque country have staged several demonstrations. In 1977, 150,000 people gathered in Bilbao to protest the government's plans for a nuclear park on the Basque coast. In 1978, 100,000 demonstrated against the Lemoniz plant. This year in June, 50,000 gathered in Barcelona and 5,000 in Tudela where a woman was shot and killed by police. Some 25,000 demonstrators staged a rally at Lemoniz on Aug. 12, the result of a month long campaign to halt construction of twin power plants.

There has been no civil disobedience in the American sense of that word. Basque separatists have bombed plant construction sites and set fire to electrical equipment, but have not attempted to trespass, occupy sites or block construction. The risks are clearly too high. In early August, police opened fire on a group of youths who were quietly pasting anti-nuclear posters on a wall in the Basque country. In Spain, civil disobedience is synonymous with suicide.

SWEDEN:

In 1976 the Swedish Social Democratic Party fell for the first time in 44 years as

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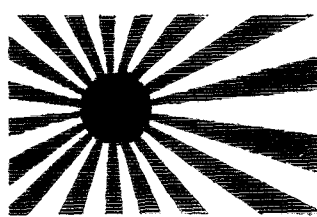
JAPAN

Japan to strengthen military forces

In spite of constitutional prohibitions, Japan has been encouraged by the U.S. to renew its military.

By David Fleishman

NAGOYA, JAPAN



In late July, Japan's Conservative government broke a 34-year old post-war taboo and moved a step closer to openly adopting the military role urged on it since the beginning of the Cold War by the United States. Japanese Defense Agency general director, Yamashita Ganri, paid an official visit to Seoul, South Korea, for the first time and met with his South Korean counterpart, Defense Minister No Jae Hyon.

At Seoul, Yamashita expressed his grave concern over the recent Soviet buildup of its Far East forces, noting the reassignment of the nuclear powered aircraft carrier Minsk to the Pacific fleet at Vladivostok. Yamashita's statements were quickly criticized by a high official in Japan's foreign ministry for playing into Moscow's hands by over-emphasizing the Soviet military threat. He found, however, a very sympathetic listener in No, whose top generals were trained at Japan's Imperial military academies during Japan's colonial rule of Korea.

No responded by repeating his frequent assertion that North Korea is now preparing for an invasion of the south. Yamashita took his cue and reassured him that stability on the Korean peninsula is vital to Japan's security.

The two day meeting at Seoul concluded with a statement of praise for President Carter's recent decision not to withdraw GI's from their tripwire position on the peninsula.

Coming just after Defense Secretary Harold Brown's extended visit to Korea in late June, Yamashita's Korean tour represented a significant Japanese departure with the past.

Even though Japan's Self Defense Forces (SDF) are the world's sixth most powerful military organization, they have always kept a low profile at home. The existence of "land, sea, and air forces as well as other war potential" is forbidden by Japan's constitution. While the SDF has grown steadily, overseas activities have been discouraged by the Japanese public's aversion to military adventures.

Recently, as war memories fade and a new generation matures, the government and Defense Agency, both controlled since the end of World War II by the conservative Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP) of Prime Minister Ohira, have begun encouraging a more flexible military role for Japan in Asia and the Pacific. Pentagon planners have for years urged a greater role for Japan, but have always deferred to LDP claims that the time was not yet ripe.

Yamashita's highly publicized visit, complete with his ceremonial initiation into South Korea's honorable Order of National Security Merit by Premier Choi Kyu Han, opened a campaign by the Defense Agency to "form a national con-



Japanese Minister of Defense Ganri Yamashita meets with U.S. Gen. James Hill to discuss upgrading Japan's military capability.

sensus on defense issues." U.S. State Department official described the trip as a "touchstone to test the reaction of the Japanese public to assuming a greater share of responsibility."

The overtture to Seoul was followed by a series of publicly declared "firsts" for Japan's postwar military. Barely back from Seoul, Yamashita set out for the 11th meeting of the Japan-U.S. Security Subcommittee at Hawaii.

The three day gathering of top brass from the two Pacific powers centered on U.S. military plans for the 1980s and plans for further strengthening Japan's SDF over the next 10 years.

Special attention was paid to the Soviet military buildup in East Asia and this year's fighting in Indochina. There were significant differences, however, between the military officials, on one hand, and the Japanese foreign ministry and

the Carter administration, on the other. State Department officials noted that from the Russian viewpoint, the military expansion of Japanese and U.S. forces must seem considerable. Japan's foreign ministry observed with satisfaction that after a period of supposedly reducing its commitments, the U.S. is once again recognizing the Pacific-Asian area is of vital interest.

Continued on page 18.

GERMANY

Germans discuss reunification press for revival of Reich

By Anita M. Mallinckrodt

COLOGNE, WEST GERMANY

AFTER SOME YEARS OF RELATIVE dormancy, the old question of German reunification has been revived in recent months by conservative West German politicians. Coming on the 30th anniversary of the Federal Republic, their demands for a more active reunification policy have been reported with some apprehension in the foreign press, especially in France.

West German conservatives, by pointing to a "renaissance of the German question," have forced the Social Democrats to defend themselves against charges that they have followed a "do nothing" policy.

The liberal coalition government of the Social Democrats (SPD) and the Free Democrats (FDP) says that while reunification is the long range goal, the short run task is to improve daily relations between the two German states. The conservative opposition—the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and its Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Union (CSU)—has called for stronger pressure on East Germany to bring about greater change. While advocating more active measures against the German Democratic Repub-

lic (GDR), the opposition nevertheless agrees with the administration that reunification should be achieved non-violently.

Some new viewers, however, are beginning to emerge, especially among those on the left of the SPD. At a recent national conference of West Germans studying East German affairs, Manfred Ackerman, speaking privately, though employed in the Ministry for Inner-German Relations, suggested that reunification had never been the first priority of any West German government. Rather, both conservative as well as liberal administration had given German unity third place political priority. Moreover, Ackerman said, the contradictory aims of West European integration and all German reunification had to be acknowledged. This meant accepting the view that former World War II allies would not permit a reunified German state.

Michael Hereth, professor of political science at the West German Army academy at Hamburg told *Die Zeit* that the principle of reunification written into the preamble of the republic's constitution had set a questionable precedent. In political practice it had done more harm than good. In Eastern Europe, it created tension. Domestically, it created confusion. According to Hereth, while every administration calls for reunifica-

tion, it does nothing to achieve it. Every opposition party then inevitably accuses the administration of losing sight of the goal of German unity. Thus, when a politician such as Herbert Wehner, SPD leader in parliament, openly says reunification in the foreseeable future is an illusion, and that policy leading to German unity is fiction, he is accused of violating the constitution.

Like Hereth, Hartmut Zimmermann, director of GDR research at the Social Science Institute of the Free University, speaking on the "German Question" at Berlin, said the fixation on reunification not only was unrealistic, but dangerous. It was dangerous because it could lead to irrational nationalism. Instead, the question should be seen as "open" and that the existence of the two German states should not be challenged. Rather, changes should come from within the GDR and the eastern European countries themselves.

Zimmermann saw a need to free those countries from undue external pressures that could lead to serious internal conflicts.

Moreover, Zimmermann said, at best, one could speak of a "new reunification" at some time in the future, not a "re-unification."

In both German states, half of the
Continued on page 18.

CARIBBEAN

Guyana's minority government moves to control majority

By Jay R. Mandle
and Joan D. Mandle

THE CURRENT SIX NATION fact-finding tour of Caribbean nations by Secretary of State Vance's senior advisor, Philip Habib, highlights the Carter administration's increasing concern with recent political developments in the area.

Most important of these is the successful Sandinista movement in Nicaragua. But, in addition, political changes in Guyana and Grenada have served to focus the attention of the U.S. administration on the West Indies. Though the developments in Guyana and Grenada do not have the same significance as the Sandinista victory for the U.S., they demonstrate that the politics of the region possess a dynamic that cannot be directly controlled by Washington.

Guyana is both the largest and most promising of the former British colonies in the Caribbean. It is racially divided between the black descendants of the slave population and the East Indian descendants of the indentured immigrants who replaced the slaves on the colony's sugar plantations. Since 1964, the country has been ruled by Prime Minister Forbes Burnham, an Afro-Guyanese.

Burnham achieved power by manipulating the racial divisions of the country

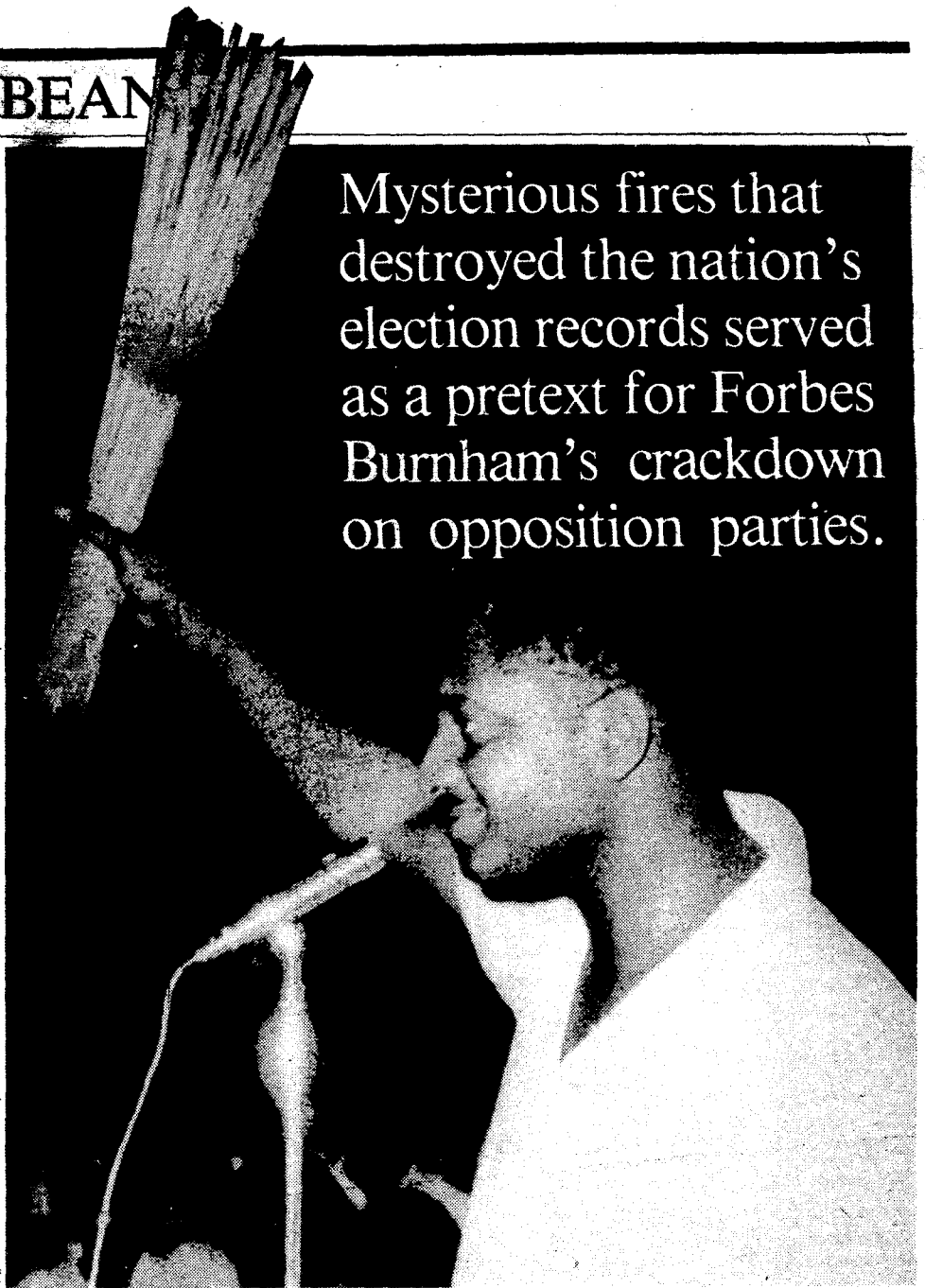
and outmaneuvering his principal political rival Cheddi Jagan, leader of the People's Progressive Party (PPP), whose constituency is predominantly Indo-Guyanese.

East Indians are a numerical majority in Guyana and Burnham's ruling party, the People's National Congress (PNC) is a minority party representing the Afro-Guyanese segment of the population. The electoral politics that maintains Burnham in power depends on the ethnic cleavage between Indo- and Afro-Guyanese. Burnham used electoral devices to defeat Jagan in 1964 and has used a system of proportional representation to ensure that the PNC receives a disproportionate share of seats in the legislature.

During the early and mid-'70s Burnham's government shifted to the left. It nationalized the country's principal industries, bauxite mining, sugar cultivation and the import and export trades. These acts followed the adoption of "cooperative socialism" as the ideology of the government. For a time in 1975 it appeared that a political reconciliation between Burnham and Jagan might become a reality. But these nationalizations did not represent a commitment to democratize and socialize Guyanese society. Rather they represented an attempt by Burnham and his aides to use the state apparatus to augment their individual wealth.

Burnham's PNC has proved unable

Mysterious fires that destroyed the nation's election records served as a pretext for Forbes Burnham's crackdown on opposition parties.



Forbes Burnham, now Prime Minister, waves broom during election campaign that brought him to power in 1964.

administer the Guyanese economy efficiently. Unqualified and corrupt party functionaries dominate decision making positions. As a result a high degree of economic mismanagement exists and shortages of basic commodities and essentials persist. The government has turned to the International Monetary Fund for relief, which has imposed tight monetary and fiscal policies.

The erosion of the PNC's own power base in the Afro-Guyanese community is particularly noticeable. Within the last month, the Working People's Alliance (WPA), largely composed of disaffected Afro-Guyanese, has declared itself to be a political party. The WPA, in combination with the still-steady support for Jagan and his PPP and a moderate group that has called for the creation of an interim government to administer the country until fair elections can be held, represents a broad opposition coalition that has placed the PNC on the defensive. A strike by the largely Afro-Guyanese bauxite workers has been joined by the predominantly Indo-Guyanese sugar workers and two other unions, an action that promises further to weaken the ruling party's grip on power.

At daybreak on July 11, several fires broke out in Georgetown, Guyana. The governing PNC party headquarters, where the nation's election records are stored, the Ministry of National Mobilization, and the headquarters of the Guyana Sugar Company, were destroyed.

In the wake of these fires Burnham initiated a political crackdown. Five leading members of the WPA—Maurice Odle, Omawale, Walter Rodney, and Rupert Roopnarine—were arrested and detained by the police.

Following a court hearing, during which Rodney, Omawale and Roopnarine were charged with arson, a demonstration protesting the arrests was attacked by the House of Israel, a group of Burnham's Afro-Guyanese supporters. In the ensuing melee, soldiers of the Guyanese Defense Force used bayonets against the peaceful WPA demonstrators. Father Bernard Drake, a Jesuit priest and author of several articles critical of the government, was shot to death. Eleven others were injured, five seriously, including a journalist for the *Catholic Standard* whose hand was cut off. Walter Rodney and the others were subsequently released on bail.

Burnham then replaced the Commander of the Defense Force with Norman MacLean, a person with no military experience but whose loyalty to Burnham is unquestioned.

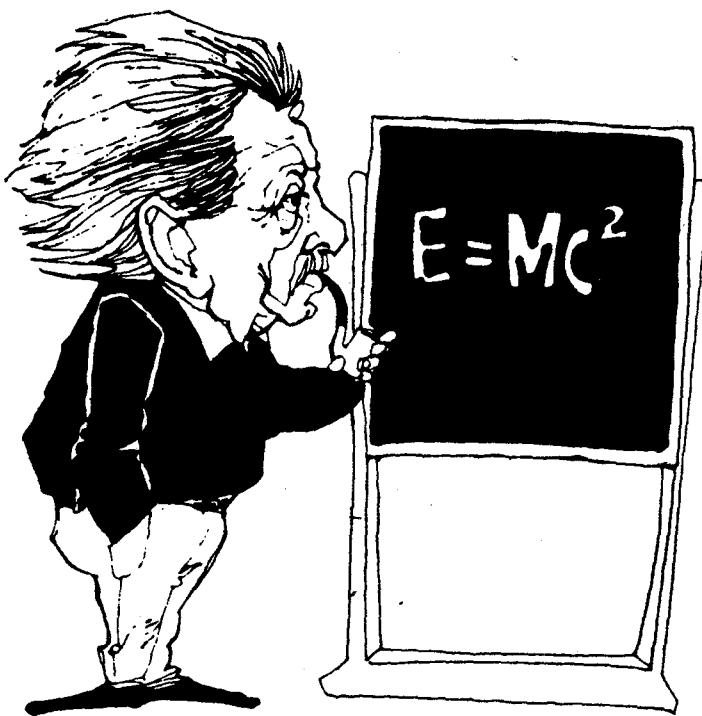
Since the U.S. prefers Burnham to the opposition, it has increased economic aid to the Guyanese regime. But it is likely that such support will be inadequate. Burnham's security increasingly depends upon the loyalty of the Defense Force under its new commander. In the meantime the forces of the opposition grow. Most recently Guyana's national poet, Martin Carter, an Afro-Guyanese, declared in an open letter that the only way to deal with the ruling party's "disrespect for people... is by example, and the example required is the example of resistance."

What makes this call for resistance credible in Guyana is that force of arms has recently been successfully employed in another part of the region, Grenada. There on Mar. 13, in the early morning hours the leaders of the socialist New Jewel Movement attacked Grenada's army headquarters and dispersed the soldiers loyal to dictatorial Prime Minister Eric Gairy. A new Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) under the leadership of Maurice Bishop was installed. A few deaths occurred in the insurrection and about 100 people were detained, including Gairy's infamous Mongoose Gang, a band of political enforcers. Gairy himself fled the country and the PRG is asking for his extradition from the U.S.

Five months after the PRG came to power in Grenada, it has introduced greater honesty and integrity into the administration of the country's political affairs. But beyond these achievements very little in this island of about 100,000 people has changed. Privately owned luxury tourism continues and the agricultural sector remains unchanged. While the future course of the PRG is unclear, the class differences between the leadership of the movement and most Grenadians makes it appear unlikely that the new ruling group is politically competent to undertake a massive mobilization of the populace.

The two developments in the Caribbean, the strengthening opposition in Guyana and the successful use of force in Grenada is a source of concern to a U.S. government intent on keeping a lid on the area's social discontent.

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By Leo Gabriel

MEXICO CITY

MEXICO IS NO LONGER SO proud of the oil wealth that has made it an important member of the oil producing fraternity.

Oil has become an embarrassment since the Ixtoc I oil platform blew out last June. The oil platform, 55 miles from Isla del Carmen in the Gulf of Mexico continues to spill 25,000 barrels of oil into the sea each day. Petroleos Mexicanos (PEMEX), the Mexican oil company, has tried to minimize the catastrophe, but a flight over the area confirms the extent of the disaster. From the helicopter one can see a gigantic flame bursting from the sea, and petroleum bubbling to the surface, staining the water, and forming a huge slick that flows slowly to the northeast. Ships gather around the slick, trying to disperse it with chemical agents.

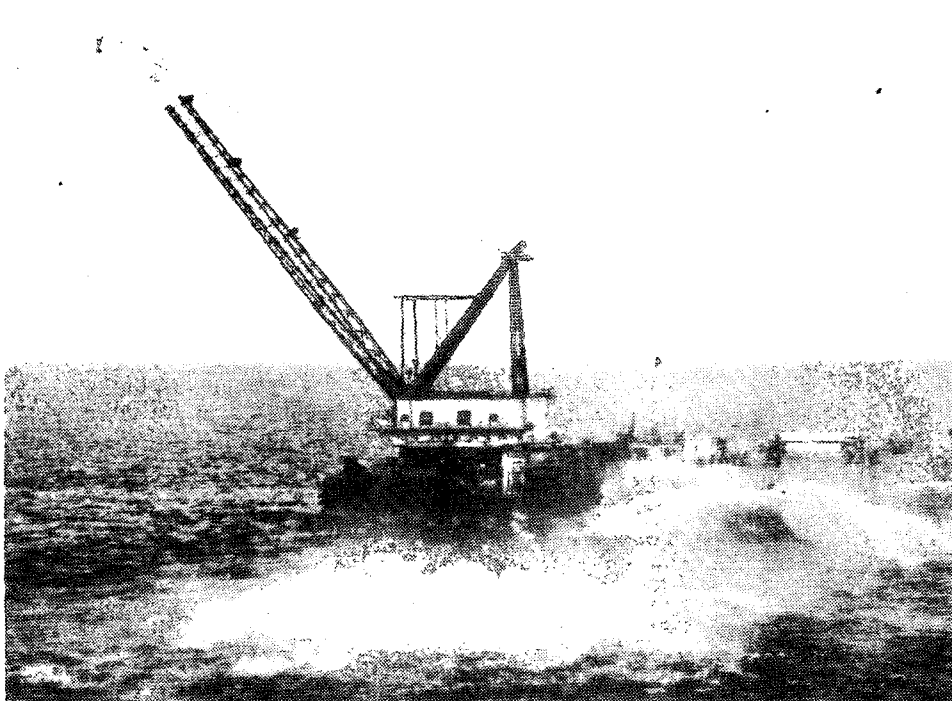
"We fear that this season's cyclones will push the oil in all directions," explains the technician flying with us. Two new rapidly constructed platforms near Ixtoc I attempt to relieve the pressure in the defective pipes. PEMEX first announced that the well would be capped in August, but they now expect to control the immense leak sometime in October.

The slick has already reached the U.S. The Coast Guard and ships monitoring the spill for the Environmental Protection Agency in Texas announced that the water along the coast contains small amounts of oil. On Aug. 5 the Mexican government authorized the participation of the U.S. in the attempt to control the runaway well. In the meantime the Texas Attorney General's office is preparing a law suit to demand damages from the Mexican government. The Mexican government has begun an investigation into the accident to discover who is responsible. This investigation, however, does not to attempt to analyze the ecological consequences of the accident on shrimp fishing, the primary source of income in the Mexican Gulf. Meanwhile U.S. firms "helping" to control the accident are doing a great business. From all parts of the world, engineers, technicians, ecologists and biologists arrive, trying to invent new solutions to the problem.

Several scientific researchers have concluded that the ocean's ecological balance has been gravely affected and that the chemical agents used to disperse the oil

ENVIRONMENT

Oil boom backfires in Gulf of Mexico



have had negative effects on the fishery. The University of Mexico's laboratory of marine ecology announced that the Mexican Gulf will need at least 10 years to recover, and that the shrimp contaminated by the oil will pose grave dangers to those who eat them. The poison contained in the shrimp is tasteless and is difficult to detect.

Fishing is forbidden only within a 20 mile radius of Ixtoc I. At one of the cooperative fisheries in Ciudad del Carmen Angel, Herrera Sanchez says that fishing catches have not diminished much because fishing fleets go out as far as Tamaulipas and Veracruz. "But since PEMEX settled here, we have problems with their pipes. The nets get tangled and break."

Victims of the oil boom.

Isla del Carmen doesn't want to wake up from its dream. The fishing coops still believe that the nearby oil spill has been blown out of proportion by the press.

PEMEX, trying to calm down the public, points with pride to the enormous mobilization of resources to control the spill. In a press bulletin issued during the first week of August, the oil company gave assurances that the coast between Campeche and Tamaulipas was clean, adding, "We hope the Mexican coast will not be affected by the oil."

The small fishing island, in whose waters the first oil was discovered in 1972, has had to face many changes in the past two years as a consequence of the discoveries.

The population doubled from 30 to 60 thousand, prices rose 100 percent, while housing and transportation did not keep pace. There are now 16 oil platforms in the Mexican Gulf and PEMEX director Jorge Diaz Serrano announced that 500 more are planned. No one seems to have considered the future of the fishermen in the area, who like their fathers have always fished here.

We found some of them on Sunday,

sitting on an abandoned ship with a bottle of rum. They offered some to us and told us, "On this island we've always been hospitable. You've got to write that we are the first fishing port in Mexico with world fame."

When we asked them about the Ixtoc spill they calmly answered, "Here everything's peaceful, just like always. If we find fish that stink of oil we throw them back." A drunken man added, "We've never had an accident on the island. The Virgin protects us against cyclones," but not, it seems, oil spills.

The men said they preferred to work for wages on the big shrimp boats, even though they had to share half of it with the ship's owner because they are eligible for Social Security. They preferred not to work on small family boats because they could catch and therefore earn little.

The next morning we found tired workers returning from the oil platforms. They had gathered in the office of the Campeche Construction Corporation to renew their contracts. Since May the company has hired them for only 28 day periods. "If we don't get drunk or fight, they give us another contract. They pay well. We can't complain," they said. Only after buying them beer did they talk about their work conditions. They'd come from all parts of Mexico, some who had worked illegally in the U.S., students who couldn't continue school for lack of money and peasants whose land had been taken away. They are not well acquainted with each other because they changed platforms every month. The fear of losing well-paying jobs limited their ability to press their demands on the company. There is an oil workers' union but they know that its officers make deals with job assignments. The workday on the platform lasts 12 hours and there are many accidents. But what bothers them most are the Americans, "On the platforms everything is done in the American style: the food, television, and the technicians." Victor, a cook, complained that the "Mexicans are the errand boys for the gringos," who work for PEMEX. He explained that workers rebelled on a platform over American influence, "The Mexican workers were used to Mexican food and they didn't like the American kind that was served."

To make it worse, directions are given in English all the time and the workers don't understand anything. They began a strike, but the company fired them all."

Anti-nukes in Europe

Continued from page 8.

a direct result of its pro-nuclear position. The new coalition government fell in 1976 when the anti-nuclear Center Party reached an impasse with the pro-nuclear Moderate (conservative) and Liberal parties over the question of future nuclear projects. The current government is very unstable and the anti-nuclear movement continues to flex its muscle in Swedish party politics.

The Swedish anti-nuclear movement is a broad coalition of political, church, and peace groups. Its primary representative is the Miljöförbundet, a national umbrella of about 80 organizations and environmental groups. On Sept. 8, a large demonstration will be held at Barseback. One week later the Swedes go to the polls for Parliamentary elections. Regardless of which party or coalition wins, the Swedish government will remain unstable, due to splits between and within all the parties on the nuclear issue.

In March 1980, a national referendum will be conducted on the nuclear issue. The referendum will demand: 1) the shutdown of all nuclear plants within 10 years; (Currently there are six operating and six under construction.) 2) a comprehensive ban on any uranium mining in Sweden; 3) a ban on all new construction of nuclear facilities; 4) no new government investment in nuclear power.

The referendum has been criticized as conservative and weak by anti-nuclear activists in Sweden and Denmark. The Danish movement is particularly upset about Barseback. Although there are no

reactors in Denmark an accident at Barseback could effect Denmark and the rest of the island of Zealand is just across the narrow straits of Oresund.

The Danes argue that 10 years is a long time to live in the shadow of two reactors. They want an immediate shutdown of the Barseback plant. Swedish anti-nuclear activists are sympathetic to Danish demands, but have opted for the more conservative "phase-out" referendum that is supported by several members of Parliament and a broad coalition of citizens.

DENMARK:

Of all the Common Market nations, only Denmark and Ireland are not in the nuclear club. Although 15 plant sites have been proposed for Denmark, construction has effectively been blocked.

The anti-nuclear movement in Denmark has an impressive record, and hopes to set an example for the world by rejecting all nuclear plant construction. The movement is consciously decentralized with nearly 200 groups working independently around the country. Communication and coordination are assisted by the very effective Organization for Information on Atomic Power (OOA). After the accident in Harrisburg the OOA arranged a demonstration of 25,000 in Copenhagen. A second demonstration in April attracted 45,000. Currently the OOA is working with over 150 affiliated local groups to launch a national educational campaign on alternative energy.

SWITZERLAND:

With 75 percent of Swiss energy needs met by imported oil, the government and industry have been counting heavily on nuclear power to meet future energy requirements. The country has three nuclear plants in operation, with a fourth completing test runs. Three to five additional facilities are planned.

The Swiss anti-nuclear movement is one of the oldest in Europe, having emerged from a strong national environmental consciousness. The moderate wing includes farmers, teachers and members of the center and left political parties. It consists of many small autonomous groups located near the plant sites. The so-called radical wing has an elected national coordinating body that represents over 60 groups. A few members advocate violence. At Kaiseraugst near Basle, a building on the site of Switzerland's fifth nuclear power plant was blown up in February. The site has been the target of demonstrators for four years.

During the past year, two national referendums were conducted on the nuclear issue. In February an anti-nuclear initiative was narrowly defeated. If passed, the initiative would have given local communities the power to veto plants in their area. Measures aimed at tightening Switzerland's nuclear energy controls were overwhelmingly approved by voters in May, after strong public reaction to the accident at Three Mile Island.

Although it puts stringent controls on nuclear development, the law was welcomed by the Swiss Association for Atomic Energy as a positive alternative to an absolute moratorium on construction. Anti-nuclear activists were divided on the initiative, with many accusing the Government of seeking to lull the public

into a false sense of security. Currently, both the moderate and radical groups are launching a petition drive to put the moratorium question on the ballot.

GREAT BRITAIN:

Great Britain launched its civilian nuclear program in the early '50s, enthusiastically taking the world's lead in promoting the peaceful atom. Several gas cooled graphite reactors, a small breeder reactor and a reprocessing plant were in the works from the beginning. With 33 operating facilities, and eight more under construction, the British government has never wavered in its commitment to nuclear power.

The newly elected Conservative government has given vigorous support to Britain's reactor manufacturing industry. The British Nuclear Fuels Ltd. (a private but state-financed company) intends to expand its Windscale facility to accommodate foreign as well as domestic waste.

Somewhat fragmented, the British anti-nuclear movement seems more conservative than its sister movements on the continent. During the past year, people have become cynical about working within the legal system, particularly under the handicap of the infamous British Official Secrets Act, which blocks public access to company and government documents. There is increasing interest in non-violent direct action as a tactic. Currently the Torness Alliance and the Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace (SCRAM) are planning a large march in Edinburgh and a third occupation of the Torness plant for the Fall.

Betsy Taylor is the Director of the Nuclear Information and Research Center in Washington.



HE ABILITY to buy video material the same way one buys books will trigger the next media revolution," beams Harlan Kleiman, an independent businessman and ex-vice-president of Home Box Office.

It's an American tradition, to expect revolution by technology. While Kleiman expects a marketing revolution, others suggest that the videotape recorder is another piece of evidence that mass media can become more democratic. With the vast possibilities for recording your own material and for copying—for the price of blank tape—existing material off records, tape, TV and videotapes, wild pop cultural diversity could be no more than a push button away.

Does the pop cultural future make the media magnates nervous?

Yes and no.

The entertainment industry is up against a stiff and technologically-created challenge. But it's not coming from an angry public, insisting on popular control of popular expression. It's coming from people whose highest aspiration is to sell cutrate bootleg versions of popular music, films, books and posters. They pocket the profits without splitting it with artists, producers or taxmen.

Some call them pirates. People in the music industry—which is spearheading the corporate counterattack—would rather just call them thieves.

"John Q. Public can do it," complains FBI unit chief (in the white collar crime division) George Keenan. "Anyone who can operate a light switch can operate one of these machines. And he can make copies of movies off his TV screen if he wishes.

"The counterfeiter never loses. He just waits to see what's a hit; he never has any duds. He can set up a factory—say, to reproduce tapes—in a two car garage. And he's free of royalties, taxes, investment in no-talent.

The entertainment industry has played Frankenstein to the piracy monster; the problem has ballooned with the industry's own technological innovations. The home video cassette recorder gives TV network programmers the chills. It has given the movie industry—long afflicted with a steady but tolerable film piracy—the same headaches that the music industry got with the advent of audio cassettes, and that the book publishers got with photocopy and photo-offset. What was cheap and easy to reproduce for legal distributors was cheap and easy for the bootleggers. If you could get your product, with all its marketable flexibility, to the consumer, you could also get it to the pirates.

Every new technological twist brings new control problems. Recently cable distributors in Macon, Ga., found that 2,000 potential customers were tapping into Home Box Office feature film presentations without paying their \$8 monthly service fee, just by using late-model TV sets that can pick up the transmission without special equipment. It's not difficult to set up a "wild" TV station any more, either. Last year in Syracuse, N.Y. you could tune in all one weekend to a fly-by-night station calling itself Lucky Seven, which broadcast pirated Home Box Office tapes. The equipment to broadcast probably cost less than \$2,000. Last year the Motion Picture

Academy made Oscar nominees available on cable for homebody Academy voters. Someone taped those fettaures off a TV set and they later turned up on the black market in Australia.

The entertainment industry is a big one, and so is the piracy that preys on it. Music suppliers in the U.S. estimate that they're losing \$4-5 million a day, and that between 15 and 20 percent of their profit goes to bootleg products. The Motion Picture Association of America sets its losses at a minimum of \$100 million a year. The FBI talks in terms of \$300 million losses per year for film and for music.

You can trace the growth of piracy in part by the falling prices of video-cassettes: a first-run film used to cost \$250. Now they sell as low as \$20 and average around \$80. You can also trace it in quarterly reports. One of the reasons the music industry is so hot for counter piracy strategies is because 1979 has been the lowest sales-year of the last several. Could sales actually be going up—but out at the same time?

With a Cheryl Tiegs poster or a disco recording, it's relatively easy for corporates to estimate their losses, even if they don't know precisely. But films—whose profit resides in rentals—lose incalculable amounts. Take a recent case in Sweden: police confiscated dozens of videocassettes of *Hair*, which appeared in the country before theatrical release of the film. The distributor's loss all depends on whether those videocassettes ended up in bars—where hundreds might see the film at a time—or in homes of wealthy individuals, where only a few potential tickets would be lost.

The problem of piracy and bootleg production is a big one within the U.S.—the FBI estimates that one in every four eight-track tapes sold here is illegal. They look like legal copies, but their quality is lower. Retailers complain that they can't compete with rival stores without mixing in illegal copies, since "everyone does it." Getting caught doesn't even have to hurt—Adwar Video, exposed in *60 Minutes* for selling hot tapes, says that its business is booming, and that industrial sales are up with the added publicity. (It has reportedly stopped selling bootleg tapes.)

The quantities can be staggering. One FBI raid—which captured some Bruce Springsteen tapes and precipitated a \$2 million civil suit against the bootleggers by Springsteen and CBS—netted twelve tons of bootleg products and equipment.



THE BIGGEST MARKET for piracy is the international one. It is all-important to entertainment corporations because that is where the surest-fire legitimate profits are as well. For instance, in an otherwise-grim music year, the coffers of WEA International are swelling. Foreign film rentals used to account for 45 percent of gross profits, but now can account for up to 90 percent. The distributor collects more of a percentage on overseas rental than on domestic, and it is not hampered by U.S. restrictions. For instance, block booking (forcing a theater owner to take a loser film in order to get the distributor's hot one) is illegal in the U.S., but not overseas. Finally, some films that flop in the U.S. clean up overseas. *The Cassandra Crossing*, though it lost money domestically, took in \$4 million in Japan alone. You can declare a tax loss on a film that flops

PUSH-BUT PIRACY

By Pat Aufderheide



in the U.S. and still, with a little juggling, pick up the profits from overseas.

The foreign bootleg market is cutting into these overseas profits. Bootlet production centers dot the globe. Suppliers in Singapore pour illegal pop music tapes into Britain and Germany—some estimate that Singapore produces ten million illegal cassettes a year. Italy's music market is perhaps 50 percent bootleg; in Greece the majority is illegal; in Turkey it's all bootleg.

Fidel likes to use pirated films showings in Havana to make a political point. Gesturing to *Jaws II* or *Saturday Night Fever*, he will point out to a foreign visitor that the only U.S. films Cuba can get under the trade embargo are illegal.

But most people aren't in it for the politics of it.

"In many Middle East countries," says Richard Bloeser, director of the

MPAA's Film Security Office, "pirat product is sold before a film can get in the theater. There's a tremendous th for first run films. In South Africa the same story.

"And in the last year South America—especially Brazil and Venezuela—taken off as a trouble spot. You walk down a street in Caracas and anything you want."

The market is strong wherever a "veloping" economy creates pocket wealth and also technological expertise. Multinational corporations involved with the development do their share to make it possible. The MPAA claims many U.S. companies ship illegal videocassettes to overseas employees as bribes. One investigation showed that of 44 multinational companies with subsidiaries in Saudi Arabia violated copyright laws with videocassettes. One



Dolores Wilber/Steve Kagan

investors of all kinds are attracted—even churchmen." It also seems to attract the mob. "The same people involved in narcotics and loan sharking are also into piracy," asserts FBI supervisory special agent Ronald Weatherington.

It has taken a long time for entertainment media corporations to see the piracy problem as a shared and widespread one. But suddenly conferences, like the recent Asia/Pacific Music Industry Conference—held smack in the middle of pirates' stronghold, Kuala Lumpur—and the upcoming International Publishers' Association Convention, have a piracy problem as their theme.

Industry organizations are fighting the problem with money. The International Federation of Phonograms and Videograms (IFPV), for instance, has a "warchest" to investigate leads. The Recording Industry Association of America has a \$1.4 million hoard to track down counterfeiters. The MPAA's Film Security Office, long in existence but suddenly beefed up, has branches in L.A., New York, Paris and Hong Kong and offers a \$5,000 reward for information on film piracy. Individual corporations have their own warchests as well. Part of the money goes toward feeding information to law enforcement agencies at home. Part goes toward tracking distribution overseas. The IFPV is working on what it calls an "early warning system," to let foreign countries know

longer be in sole possession of the product. A popular argument also calls for an extra tax to be levelled on all blank tape, to pool for royalties to be paid artists and producers for off-the-record and off-the-air taping of their work.



acommodation does not preclude aggression. Since 1971, when the Sound Recording Amendment for the first time included records and tapes under federal copyright laws, the FBI has had a legal reason to make electronic counterfeiting their concern.

It took until 1974 to see some action, but since then the FBI has executed some flashy raids. (The FBI finds them some of its best PR.) It usually has some 600-700 investigations pending at any one time, and has been known to issue 13 search warrants in a day. The harvest: tens of thousands of bootleg cassettes, its main concern. Last April's Operation Turntable cracked a duplicating consortium for music tapes that pulled in \$40 million a year.

FBI officers claim they are shackled by the courts. First-time violation of copyright is only a misdemeanor, and copyright infringement calls for a civil suit. The FBI searches for charges like tax evasion to make charges stick, but still finds spectacular raids resulting in

Landau said, in defense of the recently-filed \$2 million suit: "Bruce spends a year of his life conceiving and executing an album so that it will perfectly reflect the musical statement he wants to make. Then these people come along and confiscate material that was never intended for release and make a profit on it without paying one that's involved. It's just out-and-out theft."

Industry spokesmen are quick to become patrons of the arts in their arguments against piracy. Nesuhi Ertegun, president of WEA International and anti-piracy campaigner, says that the costs of discovering and packaging musical creativity are high—eight of ten record projects fail to make money. Even successful artists cost plenty in investment, none of which pirates ever have to pay for.

Further, he comments, international piracy hampers artistic expression in different nations. "Our company in Malaysia," he said, "strongly believes in recording local artists and releasing them not only in Malaysia but in other countries. As soon as we release a new record by a Malaysia artist pirate cassettes appear. Malaysia pirates rob and steal from Malaysian artists."

Pirates are more likely, however, to deluge a country with U.S. product, thereby minimizing the chance for local talent to reach the public at all. A leading Indian publisher, D.N. Malhotra, commented during a New Delhi trade seminar, "When the book market is flooded with pirated foreign best sellers, it relegates the national genius, both in terms of authorship and publishing, to the background."

Book distribution in Taiwan is an example of the wider costs of piracy. There print piracy is longstanding, and the legal book industry has shrivelled, unable to compete with low bootleg prices. The range of books available under any terms is now nearly confined, according to a *Publishers' Weekly* report, to the books pirates reproduce and sell in bulk.

The pirates guarantee that the Bee Gees and Tanya Tucker will reach the furthest corner of rural Malaysia, that *Superman* will be screened privately in the Arabian desert, and that Mork shows up on the walls of the workers' dorms in Brazilian assembly plants.

They also guarantee that it will be much more difficult for diversity, either local or international, to surface in the entertainment business as it is presently organized.

The industry's patrons of the arts know this, and point it out often. They conveniently ignore their own lowest-common-denominator tactics. They, however, cannot apply those tactics to their own work across the board and still survive. The entertainment business thrives on novelty and has to pay "the creative end" to find it. Piracy merely rides the coattails of the latest innovation.

The techniques of pirates to date refute starry-eyed dreams of democratizing popular culture with technology. What easy access to reproduction has done so far has been mostly to provide smudgy copies of whatever sells.

The same generation of technology that made piracy epidemic also brought the possibility of unprecedented cheap, easy and diversified production. But to change that possibility into a reality will take more than the wonders of American engineering.



With cassette technology, any one can copy the latest song, poster or movie. A worldwide bootlet business is squelching cultural diversity while it also clips corporate profits.

when bootleg goods are crossing a border.

Faced with evidence of "infringement of copyright"—the legal charge piracy falls under—the copyright owner has a number of options, most of them weak. The corporations can make a deal, often for "protection"—which is one of the individualist options those conferences are trying to eliminate. Or it can sue, if the place, the time and the evidence is right. A July 24 decision in Oklahoma City went against the Magnitron corporation for \$32 million, in a tape piracy suit brought jointly by Warner, CBS, A&M and MCA, all of whose copyrights had been violated.

Civil suits can be used in a grander strategy. Universal and Disney, for instance, sued Sony, claiming that Sony's Betamax video cassette recorder will infringe their copyrights, and that therefore the new product's production and distribution should be halted.

If you can't beat 'em, you can always compete with 'em. This is why most of the major feature film distributors have decided to make their own video cassettes of first-run films, and to sell them for \$70 to \$90. The pirates may be able to drop their prices, but they will no

probationary sentences.

International police, especially Interpol, have worked with the FBI, and a recent international law enforcement conference considered the piracy problem. Last year Scotland Yard arrested one entrepreneur in his well-stocked warehouse, and Swedish police have also arrested bootleggers.

When asked if legal and law enforcement pressure works, industry spokesmen point to Australia, which passed and enforced anti-piracy laws. Three years ago, \$15 million (Australian) were estimated lost to pirates, whereas these days an estimated one million is lost.

Not all governments care to cooperate. Both Pakistan and the Philippines have at different times decreed legal the local reprint of high-cost (over \$4.80 US) foreign books. This supports, at one level, local business, and it also garners a government licensing fee. After all, piracy can, if regulated, be a form of national primitive accumulation. That's how England got a navy.

Individual artists are among the first to lose from widespread piracy practices, and not all of the loss is in dollars. Bruce Springsteen's manager-producer Jon

porate spokesman boasted to a reporter about the way U.S. movies and television programs "did wonders" for the morale of homesick employees.

The market also booms where there are cracks in monopoly distribution. In Italy, for instance, small independent television stations proliferate, and one of their staples is bootleg movies.

Pirates come in all shapes and sizes. Among those recently caught in FBI raids are a former British washing machine tycoon and a legitimate New York exporter. One music pirate, who granted an interview to the music trade magazine *Billboard*, cast himself as a free-enterprise hero. He suggested that music industry people were upset because they just couldn't handle the competition.

Capital comes from all over as well. "Anything lucrative is going to attract the flies," the FBI's Korman says. "Monied

DIALOG

A one-sided diatribe is not an accurate story

By the NAM Leadership

JOHN JUDIS' POLEMIC AGAINST THE NEW AMERICAN Movement (NAM) (ITT, Aug. 22) is a confused and often inaccurate account of our recent convention. We are disappointed that *In These Times* would publish such a one-sided diatribe against fellow socialists without also printing an accurate news story. ¶ No one article can cover everything, but there are some striking omissions from Judis' report:

1. At a time when the Middle East is daily exploding onto the front pages of newspapers, Judis fails to even mention that the convention adopted a major resolution on this topic that breaks ground for the American left. We stated our support for the continued existence of Israel and for the national rights of the Palestinian people; and we noted that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is the representative of the Palestinians and must be recognized as such. While recognizing their symbolic significance as a small gesture toward peace in a violence-filled region, we also asserted that the Camp David accords are an impediment to peace because they marginalize the PLO. This makes NAM probably the only major socialist organization with a Mideast position close to the one adopted by *ITT* in its editorial of Sept. 27, 1978, on the Camp David accords. (*ITT* readers are invited to send for a copy of the full text to NAM, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill. 60657).

2. Judis also completely ignores the numerous programmatic sessions that included realistic evaluations of the variety of work that NAM members are engaged in around the country. These included workshops on energy based on NAM members' involvement in community organizing around utilities and anti-nuclear issues in Pittsburgh, Portland, Ore., Austin, Texas, St. Louis and Los Angeles; on electoral campaigns in Santa Cruz, Calif., and Cleveland; on reproductive rights work in Buffalo, N.Y. and Chicago; on labor activity in San Diego, Calif. and Danville, Ill. Nor does Judis even mention such well-attended and concrete sessions as those on an approach to the urban crisis, minority women and feminism, or the '80 elections.

3. For reasons that are so obscure they suggest that Judis has his own political ax to grind, Judis tries to make NAM look much more distinct from the views he expresses than it actually is. How else to explain the fact that, in an almost unprecedented method of convention reporting, he made not one mention of the major convention address, a speech by Roberta Lynch, that clearly struck a responsive chord and that articulated some of the same issues that Judis lashes out about. For example, Lynch criticized the tendency to use socialist-feminism as a test of political purity and the view that massive popular uprisings are immediately on the agenda. In addition, she pointed to a crisis in the socialist movement that demanded a radical rethinking of our most basic assumptions—hardly the approach of those with "a reverence for scripture."

4. The election of a new set of officers to a national organization would seem to be of more than casual interest. Since Judis fails to mention them, we will note NAM's new leadership here: Rick Kunnes, national secretary; Halli Lehrer, organizational secretary; Bill Barclay, political secretary.

There are many problems with what Judis does report. While his depiction of the convention's major resolutions is not exactly dishonest, it is certainly distorted.

1. Judis' report of the Democratic

Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) portrays NAM as backing away from a DSOC merger proposal, fearful of being "dominated" by a larger DSOC. Actually, the original proposal from DSOC called for exploration of joint work and merger. NAM responded positively to the call for exploration of joint work and proposed serious discussion with DSOC on a variety of issues such as socialist-feminism, labor strategy, the Socialist International and others. Perhaps Judis already knows whether NAM and DSOC should merge. However, the members of both organizations would like the chance to decide based upon the information that would emerge from such interaction.

2. Many of Judis' snide comments are an example of the selectivity of his reportage. He complains of a slew of quotes from Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin, Antonio Gramsci and Che Guevara with no mention of Americans. In actuality there was little "quoting" of anybody. And the speech that quoted Guevara also quoted Alice Walker; the awards event that quoted Gramsci also quoted Sojourner Truth. At the convention's "cultural event," Kristin Lems and Tim Vear included a beautiful song about the Palestinians, as well as stirring ones about Rosa Parks and Ralph Nader.

3. Judis characterizes the resolution on electoral politics and labor as "muddled majority compromises with the August 7th positions." The resolutions did embody compromises, for NAM is neither an "independent newspaper" nor a monolithic organization, and our commitment to building a multi-tendency organization requires a willingness to abstain from driving hard and fast lines. However, the resultant resolutions are not as "muddled" or meaningless as Judis suggests. In fact, the electoral resolution takes a decisive stance in favor of the vital role of electoral activity in complementing other forms of organizing. It rejects any primary focus on the transformation of the Democratic Party, but allows considerable tactical flexibility in this period about whether to work on Democratic Party or third party campaigns.

4. The two labor resolutions that passed stressed the uneven development of labor organization in the U.S. Thus, NAM members will work both to build rank and file movements in unions and work as well with elected union officials and staff people. In addition, NAM will work in coalitions, such as the Progressive Alliance, with non-socialist labor leaders around issues such as affirmative action, plant shutdowns, organizing the unorganized, etc. Finally, NAM is committed to politicizing the labor movement, breaking down the boundaries between labor struggles at the workplace and the political dynamics of American society.

We could go on. But perhaps what is most striking about Judis' report was its failure to capture the dominant, and what we consider, most significant mood

of the convention. There was a clear sense in most quarters that old answers will not suffice, and that whether it be through discussions with DSOC or new experiments in political activity, there needs to be a major re-assessment, not just of NAM's assumptions, but of the assumptions that underlie much of modern socialist theory. We believe that a similar sense may have prompted DSOC's initiative to NAM, and that this need for re-assessment is a concern at some level for socialists across America, if not around the world today. ■

Steve Askin, Bill Barclay, Holly Graff
Dorothy Healey, Richard Healey, Rick
Kunnes, Halli Lehrer, Roberta Lynch

Judis replies:

Askin et al. are disappointed with my article, and I am disappointed with their reply. It skirts the issue I raised—the continuing ability of sectarian minorities to set the terms of debate and to stifle NAM's development and growth. They have been able to do this because NAM's national leaders and the leaders of its more mature chapters have been either unable or unwilling to provide NAM with an overall political direction to lift it out of the sectarian marshes. Some of them prefer, as their reply indicates, to compromise with the various factions or caucuses in the name of a "multitendency organization."

These compromises and the lack of a direction have perpetuated in NAM an atmosphere and a universe of discourse that has made it impossible to discuss the real issues of the day. I gave as an example of this the debate of electoral politics, which, along with DSOC's merger proposal, was the focus of the convention. If one wants a fuller picture of this debate, I recommend ordering NAM's pre-convention Discussion Bulletin No. 27, which leads off with "Rosa Luxemburg and the Struggle for Reform" by Eric Chester.

Neither at the convention nor in this discussion bulletin will one find discussed whether NAM should run local candidates, what it should do in the 1980 races that pit moderate or liberal Democrats against right-wing Republicans, how it should respond either to Teddy Kennedy or the Citizens' Party—or, in general, what the political situation looks like for 1980.

Instead one will see debated what Karl Marx, Rosa Luxemburg or Antonio Gramsci really thought about elections; whether the Democratic party is intrinsic-

cally or merely contingently a capitalist institution (with no discussion of a specific state or city party organization); and whether elections are conducive to the "self-actualization of the working class."

I know some IN THESE TIMES readers must think I am exaggerating the abstractness and the sectarian quality of this debate. Let me quote an "Open Letter" from a Chicago chapter that appeared in the discussion bulletin:

"We will work to build an electoral base for socialism; in this respect our tasks will be different from those of revolutionaries in Russia and China, who overthrew regimes which were still semi-feudal and had not developed bourgeois-democratic institutions. But our first commitment is to developing the capacity of the class, or workers themselves, to struggle for power. Stalinists, Trotskyists, Maoists and social democrats are unable to formulate a strategy for advanced capitalist societies based on the development of this class capacity. Some of these tendencies simply do not want to see a real activation of the working class; some are too rigid to promote it."

Or here is another illuminating passage from former Political Committee member Marilyn Katz:

"A revolution cannot be a parliamentary struggle, nor can socialism be voted in...As Gramsci said, all forms of parliamentarism are based on bourgeois individualism—part of the very framework that must be transcended in revolution."

I won't even say whether these passages are true or false. They exist on a plane of discourse that does not allow any attention to the present day imperfections of the real world.

I am all for multi-tendency socialist organizations, but the tendencies have to reflect alternatives that socialists actually face within popular movements, not sectarian dreams about revolutionary upsurges or self-activation of the working class. The effect in NAM of not shedding all the hyper-revolutionary pretensions and anti-electoral, anti-union nonsense has been to prevent, not to encourage, the development of a real multi-tendency organization.

I welcome Askin et al.'s reminder that Ralph Nader was toasted in song (a song that was introduced somewhat apologetically), and Alice Walker and Sojourner Truth were referred to in speeches. My point was not who was mentioned, which is merely symptomatic, but that NAM is not creating, as it once promised to do, an American socialism that reflects American history, values, and possibilities. ■

Does DSOC gain from International ties?

By Diana Johnstone

PROFESSOR BOGDAN DENITCH OF THE DEMOCRATIC Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) argues plausibly (ITT, July 11) that a hypothetical broad democratic socialist movement in the U.S. would belong within the framework of the Socialist International. But no such movement yet exists, and the Socialist International, as he presents it in his rather starry-eyed view, is almost as hypothetical. ¶ The existing Socialist International (SI) was revived in the wake of the 1973 oil crisis, at the instigation of the West German Social

Democratic Party (SPD), primarily to facilitate dialogue between European countries with social democratic governments and their trade partners in the Third World. Sixty percent financed by the SPD, the SI serves to promote, and even create, social democratic parties in countries vital to West German economic interests, such as Brazil. Europeans recognize it as an ambiguous instrument, potentially beneficial to the development of various Third World countries, as well as a tool of anti-communism and, perhaps even more, of rivalry between capitalist countries.

It seems excessively naive to assume that international socialism is the operating goal of the Socialist International, or that a small group can hold the SI franchise without danger of being colonized by it.

In the past, American communists sacrificed the search for an American approach to socialism in order to feel part of a great international movement with a power center in the real world—the USSR. Now that there is no Communist International and the USSR cannot be accepted as a model, the contemporary

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DIALOG

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version of this error could be to join the Socialist International. Instead of figuring out how to build an American movement, one simply has to sell the idea of socialism by singing the praises of parties labeled "socialist" in other countries. There are plenty of them, and they get lots of votes, as the U.S. is just about the only country in the world where the label "socialist" is not a vote-getter.

I agree with Denitch that the problems of the American left are unlikely to be solved in terms of the old dichotomy between reformist and revolutionary socialism as expressed in the 60 year old conflict between communist and social democratic parties. Why, then, does he suggest that the best way to escape from this dichotomy is to join an organization devoted to perpetuating it?

The indulgent attitude expressed by Denitch towards Italian and Spanish communists is by no means shared by the most influential leaders of the Socialist International, as he must know from his experience as DSOC representative to that body. Belonging to the SI, if it means anything, means, for instance, siding with the small, obstinately anti-communist Italian Social Democratic Party, which in Italy is universally classed with conservative forces against the main party of the left in that country, the Italian Communist Party. Whatever for?

There is a heavy dose of wishful thinking, if not partisan bias, in Denitch's fond assertion that "the more novel strategic and theoretical analysis" is occurring within the framework of the Socialist International, or that "the European analog of community activists, feminists, anti-war militants and fighters for the democratization of the overbureaucratized centralized states, when organized by the left, is found in the socialist and not the communist parties." Most such activism occurs outside both the communist and the socialist parties (for instance, the Citizens' Initiatives in Germany or the Radical Party in Italy). Both communist and socialist parties tend to be initially wary of non-traditional issues, and then to try partially to recuperate movements once they seem safe and popular.

As for novel analysis, the whole European left, communist and socialist, is in the midst of a grave ideological and programmatic crisis that calls for bold and original thinking. It is a bit early to tell whether Eurocommunists, Eurosocialists or somebody else will contribute most to getting the left out of its current impasse. But it should be noted that many of the

most interesting socialist intellectuals, as in the French Socialist Party, are the least attached to the Socialist International.

Denitch finds fault with *ITT* coverage of Europe, notably for giving too much attention to communist parties and not enough to socialist parties. On the contrary, *ITT* coverage may focus too heavily on parties both communist and socialist, rather than on issues, because of the implicit search for "analogs," which Denitch thinks should be the criterion of foreign news coverage.

Throughout the American news media, reporting is distorted by the feeling that Americans know little and care less about the rest of the world, and can only be "sold" a story by being persuaded that it relates directly to themselves. In the left press, the variation on this theme can be that stories must provide directly applicable lessons to the American left. In short, foreign reality gets translated into ammunition for domestic political quarrels and rivalries. This utilitarian approach results in distortion and even falsehood.

For historical and cultural reasons, Americans tend to be unaware of the profound differences between countries. (Lack of historical and cultural consciousness produces the common American assumption that differences are "racial," or that mention of differences is "racist.") Some effort to grasp these differences really ought to precede the more standard reaction Denitch advocates: expression of moral disapproval (as in the case of human rights in the Third World) or discovery of "analogs" (in European socialist experience). The journalist who feels the impatience of American readers to get to the "useful" or moralistic point is under pressure to oversimplify, to twist foreign reality to make it fit American preconceptions.

DSOC's enthusiasm for the so-much-mightier Socialist International inevitably smacks of coattail-riding. The pleasure of being the American branch of such a great enterprise may explain why some DSOC members, in writing about Europe, have so uncritically accepted extraordinarily slanted versions of local political situations apparently provided by fraternal SI sources, not checking them out against any of the other sources freely available in Western European countries.

Jumping aboard a bandwagon is not the solution to the problems of the American left—especially when the direction of the bandwagon is unclear and its engine is sputtering.

This is a period when American leftists should keep their eyes and minds open to all experiences, not to seek models but to understand their own situation and make their own contribution to a worldwide, but profoundly varied, movement towards democratic socialism. ■

for compromise to avoid confrontation (and the inevitable charge of "red-baiting"), they misdirect and drain their energies. The sectarian left needs to know that the days of the free ride are over. Coalitions around programs are possible, but unity for the sake of unity is parasitic.

2. Underestimation of the right: Despite *ITT*'s valuable reporting, many leftists today live in oases where right-wing thrusts are small, or blunted. But my union, as this is written, is fighting for its life in the agribusiness town of Salinas, Calif. Salinas is our furthest outpost, but the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union ranks second only to the United Farmworkers (UFW) on the local hate list.

Out there Birchers and fundamentalists are coalescing with the more sophisticated new right and local businesses and they are flexing considerable muscle. No left is visible in many of these areas as a counterforce except from a few sectarians whose activity is often harmful in its infantilism. (A front page photo in the *Salinas Californian* recently showed a group of UFW and supporters picketing. A "supporter" wore a jacket with the UFW Thunderbird on the back, with a hammer and sickle superimposed over it. The employers loved it.)

The right is quietly tapping into the insecurities, fears and rip-offs of working class taxpayers and homeowners. They are speaking to a broadening constituency we have yet to reach and that includes many organized working people, without whom the left is doomed to distributing position papers.

3. The absence of a viable left vision. The sectarians have their models and the right has its dreams, but we do not have a true vision. We are often so busy fighting off attacks from the political crazies of both sides that we go from crisis to crisis (or conference to conference) without developing more than the narrowest local program, or limited coalition goals. (The Progressive Alliance offers hope. Results are yet to be seen.)

One effort to develop a vision deserves mention here; the Northern California Coalition for Full Employment, floundering after being formed to support the Humphrey-Hawkins Act, has gone through the internal agonies of reapprai-

sal (and in the process gained new support). The Coalition is tentatively moving toward a state version of the "Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act"—but with teeth, program and funding to mount real challenges to unemployment and inflation. This could include solar development, runaway shop taxes and much more that will be developed through an extensive hearing and organizing process, extending the coalition's constituencies and laying the basis for legislative action or a ballot initiative.

The vision can be focused, speak to the two major problems we face, and offer a hope to the left. Only by addressing the real problems of the world can our alternative policies become accepted. We must indeed walk, before we can run.

Finally, "networking" is awfully important, as no organization can contain the left's present multiplicity. We need to know who exists. We need to know and celebrate various successes. We need to know and analyze our defects. *ITT* helps. Alternative Public Policy Conferences help. Multitudes of local organizing efforts help.

But steering this reality into the frustrated end-zones of the Citizens' Party would only drain and misdirect the left's energy, at least for the foreseeable future. Vague future hopes and immediate defeats do not organize. Movements for victory are built on victories and we need concrete (and therefore local or regional) successes to win constituencies from the simplistic answers of the right.

We pretty much know what we are against. We must now show what we are for. The debate between "economic democracy" or "socialism" as catchwords is ultimately sterile. Confronting inflation and unemployment with concrete programs is, by definition, anti-corporate and anti-capitalist. What we call it does not matter. If we are successful, then those we've reached and organized can call it whatever they want to.

And that will, at long last, be the ultimate strength of a popular and American left. We must continue to seek larger slices of the pie to show one day it would be better to cooperatively own the oven. ■ *Al Lannon is a business agent for the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local Six at San Francisco.*

The sectarian left's free rides should end

By Al Lannon

I FELT MUCH THE SAME "INESTIMABLE VIRTUE" IN LAST year's California Conference on Alternative Public Policy as John Judis did in reporting the Philadelphia National Conference (*ITT*, Aug. 15). It is increasingly clear that a viable, non-sectarian and potentially effective left has grown in the U.S. But that left faces three problems that continue to hamper its effectiveness and these must be confronted. ¶ 1.

Most socialists and leftists have a knee-jerk guilt response to charges of "red-baiting" and thus give the sectarian left the handle with which to manipulate us. We must confront the likes of Stalin, Trotsky and Mao and not allow them to use our commitment to democracy as their plaything. The political crazies are not the viable left we can be, and they are, in many cases, a hindrance. (A leading Community Party cadre in my union—a CP concentration point—publicly

objected to alliances with William Winpisinger of the IAM, DSOC, Citizens-Labor Energy Coalition and Progressive Alliance because Winpisinger said something good about Ted Kennedy!)

Coping with the sectarian left by seeking some spurious basis of unity is a mistake. They have their own show and priorities. By opting, as some do too often,

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IN DEPTH

An interview: ZANU's Edson Shirihuru

By Yosef Gottlieb

IN NOVEMBER 1965 THE RHODESIAN FRONT PARTY HEADED by Ian Smith issued the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). The document declared the colony's maverick break from British control; in effect, the UDI served to preempt the imminent transition of power from the British to Zimbabwe's black majority. ¶ Two days prior to the issuance of the UDI, Edson Shirihuru, 26, an activist for the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was transferred from the Whawha Restriction Area for political dissidents to the Salisbury Remand Prison. A few months earlier Shirihuru had been sent to Whawha on charges of "political subversion." For eight more years Shirihuru was imprisoned or detained. Then in 1973 he escaped and went into exile in the U.S.

Shirihuru now serves as representative to the United Nations of the Patriotic Front, and is deputy chief representative for the Americas of ZANU. In an Aug. 14th interview, Shirihuru commented on the Patriotic Front, a coalition of ZANU, headed by Robert Mugabe, and the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU), now headed by Joshua Nkomo. The political and economic program enunciated by Shirihuru reflects ZANU's program; the military situation described is that of the Patriotic Front.

Mr. Shirihuru, would you briefly review the history of the Patriotic Front?

The Patriotic Front was formed in 1975 during the Geneva Conference. The main reason was that ZANU and ZAPU recognized a common enemy, and that the only way to fight this enemy was through armed struggle. We then understood that we would have to combine our forces. Things, though, have not gone exactly as planned. Each party functions separately with its own headquarters. We are still working on establishing a joint military and organizational command.

What are the differences between ZAPU AND ZANU?

The main difference, going back to 1963, was over how to liberate the country. ZAPU opposed armed struggle. They felt we should restrict ourselves to sabotage, and the Smith government would fall. We believed that consistent armed struggle was needed. We started the first battle in 1966.

There may also be ideological differences. We believe in socialism. On this ZAPU has been silent. However, as to who the enemy is, I think we both agree. **Is the enemy the whites of Zimbabwe?**

No. We are not fighting a racial or a civil war.

The institutions which exist were created to help the colonial power and those few who benefit from colonialism. We want to dismantle those institutions and replace them with structures that will serve the people without regard to color, ethnic background or beliefs. We consider all living in Zimbabwe to be Zimbabweans.

Do you consider whites who have settled as part of the colonization process to be Zimbabweans?

Yes. They can live like anyone else. What we don't want is first-class citizenship or second-class citizenship. Those who want to be Zimbabweans should live like anyone else. No one should have special privileges.

Assuming that the Patriotic Front were to be victorious and that the ideology of ZANU would prevail, how would your ideology be implemented?

It depends on how we get power. If it is an outright military victory we have

one approach. If it is through negotiations then we have another.

After decolonization is achieved we will take the program to the people for their approval. There is little doubt that they will approve them, however if they do not, fine.

We shall attempt to persuade the people through education so that they will understand how we view things, how we hope to solve the problems. Zimbabwe is a developing country. We are talking about 64 percent of the population who live in rural areas, about 10 percent who live in the urban areas and 24 percent living on farms.

If our priorities are as we say they are, with the masses, the masses are in the rural areas, so the question is what sort of economic betterment they can get.

Some of the primary industries such as mining are already nationalized and we would like to keep them that way. Regarding land, we believe that no one should own land. People should only use it. Land is solely for production. We will implement a redistribution of land. This will, of course, take time.

The international economic sphere creates problems. We cannot control it. Multinationals involved in the extracting of minerals control the markets which is a problem for all nations. We, however, want to control the multinationals operating in our country. Control can be exercised in several ways. You may nationalize directly or you may increase taxes. But what we don't believe in is nationalizing for the sake of nationalization. It doesn't make sense to nationalize a coffee shop. What would the people gain from it? Nothing, obviously.

How do you see the political structures evolving?

We don't mind if there are many political parties, if that is what the people want. If the people want a single-party state that also is fine with us. We cannot just tell the people to do this or to do that. We want to get the people involved. For example, in our liberated areas we let the people make their own decisions and elect their own leaders. They make suggestions and send them to the party and then we deliberate whether to make changes or to allow them to do as they wish. In that way, we find that the people feel they are ruling themselves, for themselves. They have meetings each weekend where they discuss their problems and political issues. They receive political education at the meetings.

Do you have workers' councils as such?

No. We are running our liberated areas on a communal basis.

The people are growing whatever they were raising before the fighting. Land is set aside for animals. The liberated areas were liberated through armed struggle and so they have undergone a great deal of damage. These communes are involved in reconstruction. The area is run by locally elected leaders. We emphasize self-reliance.

How much of the country would you say has been "liberated?" What do you mean when you say an area has been "liberated?"

We have liberated over 30 percent of the country and we are in control over 85 percent of the land. We are operating throughout the country. By a liberated area we are referring to totally liberated sectors where our forces are in complete control. We also call "controlled" areas "contested" areas over which we have basic control. But if we leave them unprotected the enemy will take them. In the liberated areas the enemy has not penetrated for some three years. We also maintain communication with areas that are neither liberated nor controlled. These include manufacturing areas. We do not control factories.

Where do the liberated areas lie?

In the eastern sectors and the south, particularly the south-central area.

When you say that 85 percent of the country is under the movement's control, what do you mean?

These are areas where we do not have much fear of the enemy. They may launch occasional forays but that is all. What we do not have control over is the enemy's air force. They have been bombing neighboring countries which is a terrible mistake for them. They are repeating what the U.S. did in bombing Hanoi. We have our training areas in the liberated areas within the country. By bombing Mozambique, for example, the Salisbury regime has two objectives: to force the Mozambicans not to support us and to try to destroy our supply and communications lines. We do not manufacture our own guns. This is not a secret. We get them from the outside. They have attempted to hit these and the transit camps for our supply units. As for the location

of our troop concentration, they know them well. By bombing neighboring countries they are not hitting us. They have not yet attacked our bases within the country. To attempt that would mean to bomb every mountain, every riverbed, every forest, kill everyone. That is the only way they will destroy us. There is no point in fighting such a war.

When you say "we" and this program you have been articulating, do they relate to the Front as a whole or specifically to ZANU?

I refer to ZANU. Even the liberated areas are ZANU-liberated, but we have agreed that what we have liberated has been liberated for the Patriotic Front as ZANU is part of the Patriotic Front. Militarily I speak for the Front. When I speak politically or in economic terms, I speak for ZANU.

Since the coalition of ZAPU and ZANU exists, as you say, to fight the "common enemy," have yours and Nkomo's forces agreed to put off discussion on the specifics of your post-revolutionary agenda?

Yes.

So ZAPU does not necessarily concur with your program?

Right. That is for sure. But we shall try to reconcile all differences.

With whom would your movement like to align itself politically?

This is a difficult question to answer. We consider ourselves part of the non-aligned world. We also believe that we should have our own form of society. We have to take a number of factors into account. It would be difficult to say that what has been done in Moscow, Peking or even Tanzania will be right for Zimbabwe. We believe that Mozambique will remain uniquely Mozambican, Tanzania will remain Tanzania, China will remain China, the Soviet Union will stay the Soviet Union, Britain as Britain and so Zimbabwe will be Zimbabwe.

Within Zimbabwe there are two major tribal groups, the Shona and the Ndebele. Has your movement been fettered by tribalism?

No. Most people who assert that we have been do not really know what is going on.

There are those who think or speak of tribalism, but, in general, that ideology receives little currency. Our fighters come from different areas, but talk of the struggle as Zimbabweans and not along tribal lines.

What will be your official language?

We will have three: English, Shona and Andebele.

And where are you getting your arms?

Almost everywhere except from the western countries.

So both from the Soviet bloc and the Chinese?

Yes but not directly from the Soviet Union and China, of course.

Do your arms suppliers make political demands in return for assistance?

Not so far.

Regarding the current political situation,

Continued on page 18.



Edson Shirihuru, UN representative of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front.

JOSE LALUZ

Mexican-American relations are changing

THE CARTER-LOPEZ PORTILLO SUMMIT TALKS THIS MONTH should be evaluated carefully by Hispanics and the progressive community in the U.S. In the wake of reports that the Carter Administration is considering modifying existing immigration policies in exchange for Mexican oil and gas, Hispanics and their allies should be alert. Although the ramifications of a "package deal" approach to negotiations between Mexico and the U.S. are difficult to assess now, it will have far reaching consequences for the status of Hispanics in this country.

Several factors shape the political climate surrounding these negotiations. The most obvious is the impact of the energy crisis on the American people, the high price of oil and the rationing that has resulted from allegedly scarce supplies. Now that our "good neighbor" south of the border has plenty of oil, they should naturally first sell to us, says conventional wisdom.

The other factor is the immigration of hundreds of thousands of undocumented Mexican and other Latin American

workers, which presumably has an adverse effect in a labor market no longer characterized by relative scarcity. Implicit is displacement of workers who are presently holding jobs—although there is no major study to support this theory. In any event, the symbol projected to a working class bombarded with xenophobic propaganda and the "chauvinism of the great nation" is that of thousands of "wetbacks" are crossing the Rio Grande to take our jobs away.

To many, these conditions may suggest a tradeoff. One of the grossest mani-

festations of this is already found in people who say that the U.S. should demand a number of barrels of oil for each undocumented worker allowed to come into the country. A demagogue's paradise!

In a recent visit to Mexico, I had the opportunity to witness another view. The Mexican people are united in their affirmation that a people's sovereignty over their national patrimony, especially natural resources such as oil and natural gas, is inviolable.

There is a growing consensus in Mexico that is being articulated through mass organizations, trade unions and political parties of the left, right and center, which expresses the will not to allow their country's oil to be given away below its market value and not to give exclusive buying rights to North American oil monopolies. The Mexican government has had to adopt the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of its population as its own.

This is possible because the U.S. oil and mining firms in Mexico were nationalized in 1938 when former President Lazaro Cardenas led the nation through a nationalist and anti-imperialist path that started with the Mexican Revolution in 1910. Public ownership of this vital natural resource marks one fundamental difference between the situation in Mexico and that in the U.S., where the American people are at the mercy of the increasing power of the oil monopolies.

The influence of the Cardenistas or revolutionary nationalists is rapidly diminishing as the Mexican economy becomes increasingly monopolized by a few Mexican-owned corporations financed and partly controlled by North American banking interests. Yet the Mexican government's progressive foreign policy, which has been consistent throughout the years and reaffirmed recently in its support of the Nicaraguan revolutionary process, sustained diplomatic relations with Cuba when most other Latin American countries were participating in the economic blockade and its willingness to help sponsor the Second International Conference in solidarity with Puerto Rican independence this year can, in part, be attributed to the influence of the revolutionary nationalist tradition.

The Mexican American War in 1846 and the Guadalupe-Hidalgo Treaty, which practically gave away all Mexican territories in the Southwest and southern California to the U.S., leaving thousands of Mexican inhabitants in disarray, is still remembered as a sad episode in the history of U.S.-Mexican relations. North American military intervention, the occupation of Veracruz in 1914, and the pursuit of Francisco Villa by the green uniformed soldiers led by General Pershing in 1916-17 did not help much either. "Green go home!" became the popular slogan of that time and a new word was added to the Mexican people's vocabulary, *gringo*.

Despite a history of aggression and hostility, the Mexican people have expressed their will to develop closer ties based on mutual respect with their North American neighbors. The Movimiento Mexicano de la Paz, a broad based peace organization in which all major political parties of the left and center are represented—including the PRI party in government—has expressed its willingness to organize a summit conference of representatives of both the American and Mexican people to exchange views about common concerns and problems and to find common solutions. They have proposed that this event take place this year.

Jose LaLuz writes regularly for *In These Times*.

KATE ELLIS

Ambivalence in ourselves can be a basis of strength

*They say women are too personal
I say they are not personal enough*

THESE TWO LINES BEGIN and end a poem by a friend, Penelope Schott, in which she enumerates some amazing pieces of sexual misinformation that she heard from her mother and teen-age girlfriends. When I read in these pages (*ITT*, Apr. 4) an article that seemed to suggest that left ambivalence toward abortion was somehow incompatible with support for the



issue, I found myself wanting to paraphrase my friend's lines: *they say the left is too ambivalent, I say it is not ambivalent enough*. I mean this very seriously. Indeed it might be more than a mere academic exercise to go back over the history of the left in this country to see where a greater degree of openly expressed ambivalence might have served the movement better.

But my concern in this and future columns is with the women's movement, and especially with the abortion rights movement, and most of all with the danger of saying "if you're not unambivalently with us you're against us," at a time when we are facing a backlash that poses a real threat to the cause of universal access to abortion. I don't think left ambivalence toward abortion stems from a fear of sexually independent women, as the article's authors contend, nor even wholly from social conditions. If there were more day care centers, maternity benefits, communal living and other forms of support for women raising children, if getting pregnant didn't carry so many connotations of being wanted and needed, on the one hand, and of punishment for sex on the other, and of course if the costs were not so punitive, then terminating a pregnancy would be much less painful for women, less overlaid with male rejection.

But ambivalence toward abortion as a social policy goes beyond the regrets felt by women who are nearing, or who have reached the cut-off point for unbearable. There is also ambivalence directed,

female body itself, against its capacity to bring life forth. This is a particular source of conflict for those of us who are women and it is why abortion will always be, finally, a woman's issue. When I was carrying a pregnancy to term I was fascinated to learn that a fetus develops fingernails by the 20th week. Yet that knowledge, so enthralling under some circumstances, can't be wiped out under other circumstances. Feminist writers like Jane Lazare and Adrienne Rich have explored the ambivalence of giving birth, writing about such hitherto forbidden feelings do not run against the grain of feminism, since it brings to light the underside of woman's role. But to talk about fetal fingernails brings us uncomfortably close to the line behind which everyone is a right-to-lifer.

Nevertheless this is where I think we have to be: as dangerously close to this line as we can honestly get. Which brings me dangerously close to the debate about socialism and abortion (as it should have been titled) in *ITT*. The title was "Does Free Abortion Hurt the Poor and Minorities?" to which Elizabeth Moore (*ITT*, Feb. 28) gave the answer yes. I agree with those who found the question, framed in the present tense and posed at a time when abortions for the poor and minorities have been virtually eliminated under the Hyde amendment, to be the closest thing to a sick joke the left press has come up with in quite a while.

But it seems to me that one can (and we should) reject Moore's conclusion while supporting her fears. The argument she raised in the initial debate, as I read it, was that the bourgeois class has always been active in controlling (sometimes even to the extent of suppressing) the fertility of the poor. To "give in" on abortion, she concludes, means putting one more weapon into their hands. This flies in the face of Karen Mulhauser's responding argument that our government is funding the poor woman's decision to carry a pregnancy to term but not her decision to end it. But in fact popular and legislative antipathy to spending tax dollars on Aid to Dependent Children has risen as part of the swing to the right in this decade even as the facts that Mulhauser asserts are true.

I am not concerned with rehashing these arguments but rather with how we in different branches of the Right to Choose movement talk to one another and with those who, in varying degrees, are not where we are. One thing we can't do, I think, is to draw the line between left and right where pro and anti-abortion forces divide. The moment when life begins is, for non-Catholics, an individual and arbitrary designation. The best I have been able to come up with is a sort of agnosticism as to whether or not a human life is involved in a first trimester abortion. But to insist that human life is involved is simply not an issue, that ambivalence comes wholly from some craven place in the human psyche, makes us appear to take the attitude that having an abortion is like having a tooth pulled, a stance that negates too much of the experience I have had and heard about.

My point in urging the movement to be more agnostic in explaining its positions, to concede more to Moore than some of the responding letters were willing to do, to acknowledge that there is a right as well as a left wing to the pro-abortion movement, and to treat differences about abortion, at the grass roots level, as contradictory, is that I see in such a strategy the possibility of our widening our base, and therefore increasing our power. It gets us into dangerous waters, but the issue is too vital (pun intended) for that to be avoided. There are no safe banks from which we can shout at the enemy on the opposite shore.

They say women are too personal. I say we must not let the right-to-life movement take over the terrain of personal testimony in the battle over human (and technological) error in the reproductive process. We need to welcome ambivalence in ourselves and in our midst. For us it can be a basis of unity, a basis of strength. ■

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Japan

Continued from page 9.

Only days after returning from Honolulu, Yamashita put an end to another longstanding symbol of Japan's limited military ambitions. He paid the first official visit by a Defense Agency chief to the commander of U.S. forces in Japan. To dramatize Japan's readiness for big league status, Yamashita was received at the U.S.-run Yokusuka Naval Base near Tokyo by Lt. Gen. William Ginn.

The meeting, ironically, was held Aug. 6, the anniversary of the nuclear destruction of Hiroshima, 34 years before.

In mid-August, Yamashita will be making another official visit, this time to Washington and the Pentagon, with a stop on the way home at NATO headquarters at Brussels.

In Washington, Yamashita and Defense Secretary Brown are likely to review the three year old Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation Commission, instituted to "make necessary preparations for joint Japan-U.S. operations in case of an emergency." In this framework, the Pentagon is urging Japan to (1) increase its anti-submarine capability, (2) increase anti-aircraft capability, (3) strengthen logistic support of South Korea's rear lines, (4) expand economic and military assistance to South Korea, and (5) grant the U.S. unrestricted use of bases in Japan in the event of an emergency.

In 1977, eager to comply for its own motives, Japan's Defense Agency initiated a shift in policy from "defense of Japan's territory" to "defense of Asian regimes" and decided to begin the qualitative improvement of its hardware.

One step in this direction was the purchase of 45 American anti-submarine aircraft—the P3C Orion—which began patrols over the Pacific last year. Another will be the arrival from the U.S. this month of the first of 100 F-15 fighters,

the most advanced fighters in the world.

The major obstacle to Japan's new military role has been domestic opposition. In the early '60s, the original signing of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and Japan-Republic of Korea Treaty sparked demonstrations by hundreds of thousands of opponents that went on for days.

The decision to shift into high gear at home seems to be well timed. In Japan, there has been virtually no public objection to the military's moves during the past few weeks. It seems that the Japanese public has passed the test posed by Yamashita's highly visible liaisons with foreign military leaders and may now be moving toward fuller military participation with the United States in Asia and the Pacific.

Germany

Continued from page 9.

present population have been born after World War II, and so the concept of "national unity" is often a negative one. Most of these younger citizens do not see the present division of Germany as provisional and requiring change. Rather, opinion polls showed they accepted the existence of two nations and two states, or two states within a single nation, depending on their concept of nation and state.

In calling for political education that stressed rational approaches to the problems arising out of the existence of two

German states, Zimmerman said the GDR was often pictured as the "absolute opposite of one's own society and its political order as an incomprehensible absolute evil."

The purpose of this was not so much to attack the other system, but to immunize "one's own society against critique and social change."

Zimmermann believes the left has over-emphasized the revolutionary potential of nationalism. The left has placed too much emphasis on human rights and dissidents in the GDR and failed to undertake a comprehensive analyses of the whole system. He warned the democratic left against neglecting the premise that a solution to the question of reunification must not be dominated by leaders at the top, but must reflect the sentiments of the people in the nation.

ZANU interview

Continued from page 16.

What is the attitude of your movement concerning British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's proposals adopted by the Commonwealth nations at their recent meeting in Zambia?

Our response is that we don't mind talking.

Will you talk to Muzorewa?

No, we won't talk to Muzorewa. As part of the process of decolonization we will talk to Britain, which still is, legally speaking, the colonial power.

What are your immediate demands?

The dismantlement of the Smith-Muzorewa regime and the placing of effective control over all apparatus of power squarely in our hands. These negotiations are not at our initiative, however. Our initiative is that of armed struggle, which we will continue.

Why have you chosen armed struggle over negotiation?

Because we have failed in negotiating. We tried long ago when Britain did not

want to do anything about the problem. They are concerned now only because the Smith-Muzorewa regime is failing. Things have changed.

We are going to negotiate from strength. If they say no to our demands, we will say, "well then, let's return to the battlefield." We can talk and at the same time intensify the war.

Are you presently intensifying the war effort?

Sure.

Do you see it as becoming more successful? And if so, why?

Yes, it has been more and more successful. The reports from the war zone confirm this as does the fact that the Smith-Muzorewa regime is now powerless. If Muzorewa wanted to have free elections as he had planned when he first ran for office, then he would have formed his own government and not a coalition government. The coalition has a lot of problems, which we can solve. They have a problem with their military situa-

tion. We are the cause of the problem and we will solve it.

What is the numerical strength of your armed forces?

We have as many as we would like to put in the field. There is a problem with armaments but not with manpower.

How about humanitarian, relief assistance, medical supplies and such?

These we are getting from governments, organizations, movements and individuals. In our liberated areas we are rebuilding villages that have been ravaged by the war. We are building schools and hospitals and for this we need medicine and books.

What is your immediate challenge?

The refugee problem. It is difficult to plan for them because we do not know when or how many are coming. They are fleeing battle-zones as we liberate more territory. They come to the previously liberated areas in need of food, clothing and shelter.

When do you anticipate victory?

Very soon. But in a revolution you cannot go by calendars. So far our program is going very well. We hope that the Muzorewa-Smith regime will fall by the year's end.

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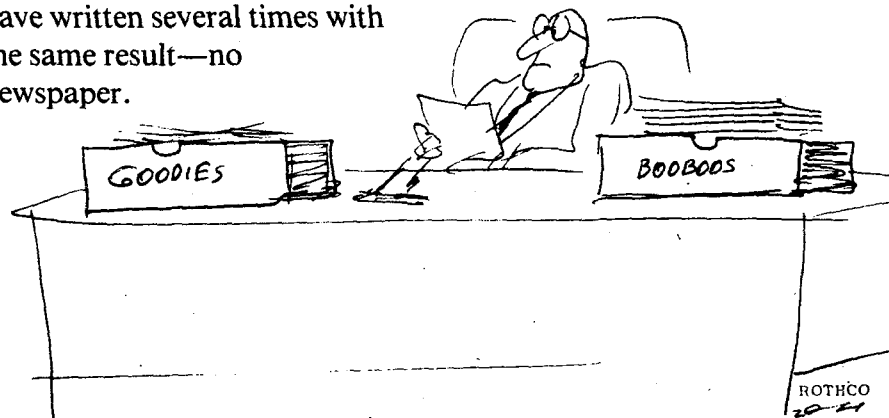
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LIFE IN THE U.S.

PRISONS

By Dave Pell

THE SHOOTING OF LEFT LAWYER Fay Stender, a leading advocate of prisoners' rights, sent shock waves through the ranks of present and former activists in the once-strong prison movement in California.

About 1:30 a.m. last Memorial Day, a black man and woman knocked on the front door of the Stender home in Berkeley. The man pulled a gun on Fay's 20 year old son Neal and forced his way inside. He tied up Neal and a visiting friend, demanded money, and was given what they had, about \$22. Then he ordered the lawyer to write a note saying, "I, Fay Stender, betrayed George Jackson and the prison movement when they needed me most." He shot her six times and fled.

She survived. But now she lies in a hospital knowing she will never walk again. One bullet hit her spine, leaving her paralyzed from the waist down. Others collapsed a lung and shattered her arms.

Two weeks after the shooting, Berkeley police arrested six young black men in connection with two bank robberies; four were ex-convicts. Published reports linked some of them with the Black Guerrilla Family, a revolutionary group founded in prison by George Jackson. One of the ex-convicts, Edward Glen Brooks, was charged with attempting to murder Fay Stender. Neal Stender identified Brooks, and police say the gun that fired the bullets into her body was found in his possession.

Four days after their arrest, chained in line like slaves from *Roots*, the six accused were led into a Berkeley court for arraignment. They complained that for four days they had received no showers; they had neither shoes nor underwear. When the judge said no evidence had been submitted about their lack of shoes, all six raised bare feet into the air.

As the tension grew in the courtroom, a deputy tried to lead them out like oxen by tugging on the chain which linked them together. A melee broke out, with deputies and the shackled blacks flailing at one another.

Events had turned a full, awful circle. Fay Stender had entered the prison movement largely because she had been so



Attorney Fay Stender became a victim in the prison movement she had helped to form.

Shooting reveals collapse of prisoners rights movement

outraged by the shocking treatment accorded blacks in another courtroom almost a decade ago.

In early 1970, I went to Salinas with her. She then represented black prisoner George Jackson, who together with two other black Soledad convicts had been accused of killing a prison guard. In that redneck-run valley town, I saw those three accused chained up like beasts, jeered at as they walked across the town sidewalk to court, and given short shrift by the judge in their case.

Stender worked tirelessly to get publicity for their case, mobilize support, recruit other lawyers. A small group, of which I was part and Fay was chief, organized a series of events. Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and author Lillian Hellman visited Soledad and told the press the atrocities they saw; some of the California Legislature's Black Caucus went inside and wrote a scathing report on racism and prison conditions there; students from the University of California at Santa Cruz and activists from the Bay Area started attending legal proceedings in the case. George Jackson's moving letters from prison became the best-selling *Soledad Brother*.

Salinas authorities retaliated. When family and friends gathered to greet the prisoners as they arrived from Soledad at the courthouse, the prisoners were unloaded at a sunken, inaccessible basement entrance. When the courtrooms became packed with supporters, the Fire Department discovered regulations requiring the rooms to be half empty. When we staged a rally on the courthouse steps, the town forbade such rallies. In June, 1970, the trial was shifted to San Francisco and the Soledad Brothers to San Quentin.

As we worked, letters from prisoners all over California poured in to us detailing beatings by guards, medical maltreatment, cruelty of every degree. Our initial forays into the prisons supported

many of the accusations made by our correspondents.

Once the Soledad case was launched, with Fay as prime mover, we set up the Prison Law Project. We hoped to bring due process into prison procedures, to end the censorship that in some cases forbade prisoners from reading what they had written, to force prison officials to allow journalists inside the walls. Stender, who had been one of two lawyers defending George Jackson, left the Soledad Brothers case and devoted all her time to the Project, the first of its kind.

After a few months a split developed in our office and half of us, feeling that Fay acted in too arbitrary a fashion, went over to San Francisco to form the Prison Law Collective. Both groups, though personally estranged, pursued much the same objective in our different ways.

On August 21, 1971, George Jackson was shot down by a San Quentin guard; then in September, Attica exploded. Groups like the Quakers, which for years had worked to reform prisons, and newly formed groups like the Prisoners Union surged with members and projects. Over 80 anti-prison or prison reform groups existed, in the San Francisco Bay Area alone by the early '70s.

Prison administrators and right-wing legislators accused us of provoking violence and spurring prisoners into attacking guards. But some judges agreed with our contentions about cruel prison conditions. Prisoners gained some rights, and prison reform became a less unpopular cause than it had been before.

There were always hundreds more cases than we could take. Sources of funding, never abundant, started to dry up. The Prison Law Project and the Prison Law Collective began to burn out. The Nixon Supreme Court overturned court decisions we had won; redress through the courts would become even more difficult than before. Perhaps most disheartening to us personally, several of the few pris-

oners we knew who did get released were unable to function successfully on the outside.

One man kept complaining that he was unable to eat; he said prison food had ruined his digestion. Despite his salary he was perpetually broke. He needed \$14.50 by Thursday, or \$22 by Saturday. We forked over the money until finally we realized he was shooting it all into his arm. Heroin, not prison food, rendered him unable to eat and unreliable at work. He wasn't the only example: the human destruction wrought by prison was far more devastating than we had imagined.

By 1973, Stender circulated a bitter letter explaining her need to stop prison work; several months later our group also broke up. Other groups also collapsed, because of lack of money and personal burn-out. Stender went into private law practice. She took on women's rights cases, involved herself in community groups and the ACLU, and remained politically active in the California State Bar.

Until she was shot. Now she remains under guard at an undisclosed location.

Shortly after the attack, the California Department of Corrections stated that two other attorneys known for defending prisoners, Salle Soladay and Charles Garry, were named on a 'hit list.'

Edward Brooks issued a statement claiming to be innocent and blaming the "forces of repression" for the attack on Stender and the threats on Soladay and Garry. His trial is scheduled to begin Nov. 30.

Along with many others, I am left deeply saddened that blacks accused of crimes still find themselves chained up together like animals, while a woman who fought to end such barbarism lies paralyzed in a hospital.

Contributions for Fay Stender's medical care can be sent to the Fay Stender Trust Fund, Bank of California, P.O. Box 7773, Berkeley, CA. 94701.

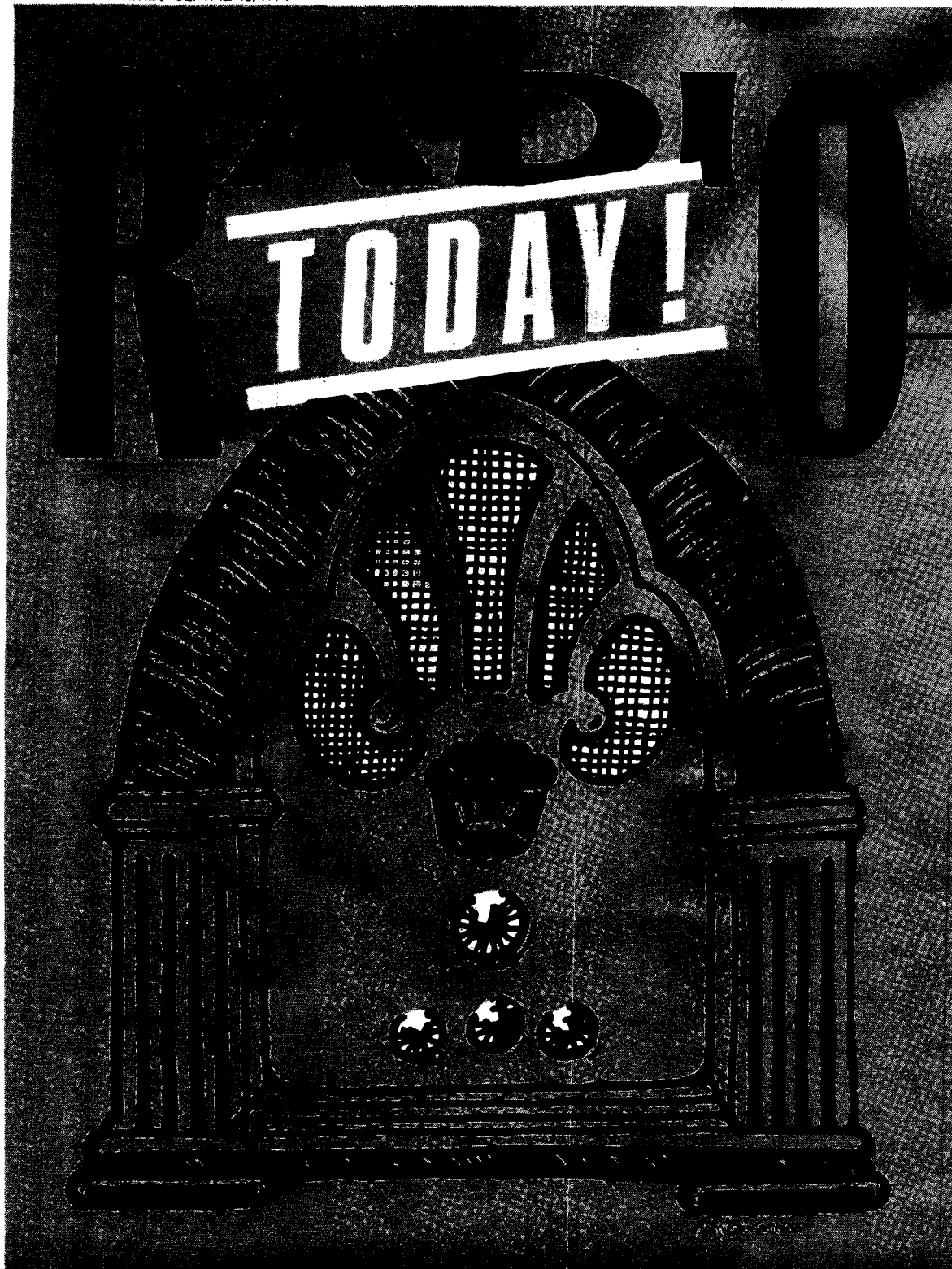
Stender reward

Shortly after Fay Stender was shot, the Bay Area Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild held a dinner to celebrate the retirement of long-time activist lawyer Benjamin Dreyfuss. Stender's lawyer husband Marvin, from whom she is separated, asked his assembled colleagues to give any information they might have about the assassination attempt to him or to authorities. Later, he announced a \$10,000 reward for information leading to a conviction of her assailant.

Some lawyers, especially the younger ones, were taken aback at the suggestion that Guild members become something like informers. Throughout its 40 year history the Guild has opposed unconstitutional government activity, and its members almost always find themselves pitted against police and law enforcement agencies in courtrooms.

But other members felt that whoever attacked Stender is clearly dangerous to the left and to others, and therefore it is right to cooperate with police in their work on the case.

Doron Weinberg, a close friend and former law partner of both Stenders and former Guild president, defines the issue: "Are victims who are our friends special?" He finds that the shooting raises difficult and uncomfortable questions for lawyers who have done prison work.



After thirty years of hearing and making community radio...

BY JUDY STRASSER

THIRTY YEARS AGO, IN the shadows of a highly developed commercial radio system and of the new medium of television, a bunch of anarcho-syndicalists began a wild experiment in Berkeley, California. They started a tiny, 250 watt radio station that asked its listeners to send money to support its continued operation.

KPFA has grown into a station with a powerful signal, serving the entire San Francisco Bay Area. The Pacifica Foundation, which began with the single Berkeley outlet, now runs radio stations in New York, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., and Houston.

One in four Americans can now hear a community radio station. New stations are about to go on the air in New Orleans, Tampa, Salt Lake City and in rural areas like southwestern Kansas; Paonia, Colorado; and Eureka Springs, Arkansas. Spanish speakers are served by a growing group of bilingual stations in Santa Rosa, Fresno and Salinas, California.

The listener-sponsored con-

cept has even been adopted by what is commonly called "public radio": stations run by universities, state and local governments and other institutions, which get the bulk of their operating expenses from other sources, including the federally-funded Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Distinct from public radio, the Pacifica stations and their descendents, generally licensed to community groups, belong to an amorphous, elusive category now called "community radio."

Most of the community stations belong to the National Federation of Community Broadcasters (NFCB), a young organization with remarkable clout on the Washington scene. According to Theresa Clifford, NFCB associate director, these stations share a basic philosophy. "Their programming is guided by an effort to serve the community." The stations are dedicated to the idea of community access to the airwaves; they rely heavily on committed volunteers to do most of their programming and many administrative tasks; and they receive much of their income in direct contributions from listeners.

Beyond these few common characteristics, community stations are noted for their diversity. They range in power from 10 watts to more than 100,000. Their audiences range from a town of 1,500 to a sparsely populated rural region to the southern coast of California, from Santa Barbara to San Diego. The stations' budgets range from \$20,000 to nearly \$500,000 for operations in a single year. Full-time staffs include as few as two, and as many as 25 people.

Diversity also distinguishes the community stations' programming—especially when it is

compared with the staid, high-culture, classical-music-and-discourse-by-experts format of most public stations. Jazz, blues, folk, salsa and other ethnic musics prevail on community stations. The stations air unpopular opinions and the ordinary listeners' views regularly, and with respect.

This diversity recently caught the attention and won the approval of the influential Carnegie Commission on the Future of Public Broadcasting. The public radio system, the Commission wrote, "does not reflect the pluralism that is such a highly valued characteristic of American society." The Commission noted the importance of community stations and outlined ways in which the federal government can, in the future, help such stations thrive.

Community broadcasting presently makes its influence felt on public radio by a sort of trickle-up process. For example, the public affairs documentary was pretty much developed by Pacifica, according to Bill Thomas, director of NFCB's program service. At one time, the form was confined to community radio. Now it is recognized by the public radio audience, as well. In large part, this has resulted from a migration of producers from community radio to National Public Radio, the program service that provides "All Things Considered" and other features to public radio stations.

But the same openness and accessibility that attracts and inspires talented producers and creates some exceptional radio on the community stations can also create an atrocious sound no one wants to hear.

"A policy of access, manifested in a certain way, can lead

to air time that is just chopped up between a lot of different interests," Thomas says. "It's up to the people who run the station to realize that good radio is part of the effectiveness of their communication. Just putting anybody on and letting them do what they want with no regard to how it sounds basically wastes their time."

But it is difficult to combine volunteer talents and the concept of accessibility to produce good radio. At least one community station went off the air before it ever learned that lesson. Others, still broadcasting, are still struggling to sound good.

That struggle is based in the very nature of community radio. "We're about two things," says Joanie Rubel, an NFCB steering committee member who has worked both as a volunteer and paid staff member at WORT in Madison, Wisconsin. "We're about doing good radio—and we're about being a creative cultural and political force. Those two things sometimes slap up against each other."

Some people believe that the Pacifica stations are more subject than most to crisis. Pacifica is dedicated to exploring the causes of conflict in society, and to presenting unpopular, infrequently aired views. But the differences between Pacifica and the other community stations may reflect style and degree more than political approach.

"People have been attracted to community radio by the romance of it, the mission and the exciting potential and the programming—not because they wanted to manage a radio station," Joanie Rubel says. The same problems common to food coops and other alternative businesses plague the managements of community radio stations. The awkwardness of balancing a budget in the face of uneven cash flows, political tensions and rivalries, the questions of authority and hierarchy, the needs of volunteers, the rights of poorly paid workers and the pernicious effects of inflation sap time and energy that most radio people would prefer to devote to production. And, as Joel Kugelmass, director of the Pacifica foundation, points out, community radio is also subject to regulatory problems and a Supreme Court is on a campaign against the First Amendment.

Racism, too, has created massive headaches—and earaches—in what is, historically, a white movement. Bill Thomas describes community radio's special vulnerability to racism. "With an accessible operation, a family feel develops. This can be good, but it can also be a form of institutional racism when somebody who's culturally different tends to be excluded by the informal structure."

"There's obviously racial tension to start with, especially in the urban areas," Terry Clifford says. "The stations are typically controlled by white staff. There are some that are controlled by minority people, and those stations typically do not involve

whites." Inexperienced managements, Clifford says, have not been able to foresee and defuse potentially explosive situations. The stations' poverty exacerbates the problems. "If you've got the salary to bring black people onto your staff and put them in management positions," she says, "then part of the problem can be solved."

Ironically, the most troubled stations are those that have made the greatest efforts toward ending racism. But Joel Kugelmass claims these stations are not the biggest problems. "The biggest problems are the stations that aren't trying [to deal with racism] at all. Some of the most creative work goes on at some of the most conflict-ridden stations."

Community radio in thirty years has grown and spread, if not exactly prospered. And it has, many times over, fulfilled the hopes of the founders of KPFA: it has proved to be a viable way to improve an important mass medium.

Meanwhile, on the air with All (or most) Things Considered

BY BETH BOGART

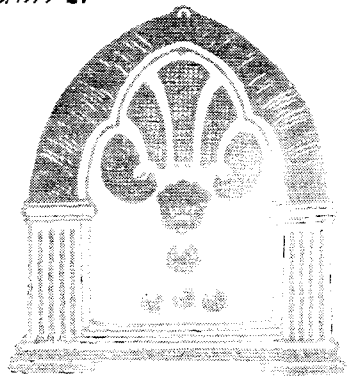
BY THE TIME THE REPORTERS and producers of National Public Radio's "All Things Considered" meet for their 10:30 a.m. story conference, they have glanced through a dozen newspapers, watched the morning television news programs and thought about what they want in the 90-minute show to be aired on 220 public radio stations that evening.

The big news one July day is President Carter's Cabinet reshuffle and the ATC staff, as they call themselves, want to tell the story using an angle different from that presented by newspapers, television or commercial radio.

"Let's get a Russian equivalent of a Kremlin watcher to interpret the Cabinet changes," is one suggestion. "Yeah, somebody with an authentic-sounding Russian accent," the idea is seconded.

Aired weekdays from 5:00 p.m. to 6:30, weekends from 5 to 6, ATC has been called an electronic newspaper, a "Sesame Street for adults," and "better than the New York Times because it has in-depth news, plus 'comics'." Award-winning national and international coverage is blended with humor, "inspired zaniness," in the words of the *Wall Street Journal*, and minute-long musical breaks every quar-

What's the difference between "public" and "community" radio? Millions of dollars, for one.



ter hour that "should be made into an album," one Minneapolis listener suggested.

About 13 stories are usually culled from the morning's list of 30 possibilities for the show. Approximately half of these come from affiliated stations across the country, from free-lancers and from foreign news organizations like the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC).

"We're trying to rely less on the BBC and do more of our own reporting from places like Nicaragua, South Africa and Iran," the program's producer said.

News bureaus are also opening in London, Chicago and other cities around the world, NPR staff said.

ATC has 20 reporters, 12 editors and producers and a \$2.7 million budget, all tiny by the standards of commercial networks (its budget is less than 3 percent of CBS News), but large by the standards of "the other alternative network," Pacifica. NPR's public relations staff is bigger than Pacifica's entire news bureau.

NPR often scoops the commercial networks. For example, when the Supreme Court Justices privately decided not to hear the appeals of the Watergate defendants, reporter Nina Totenberg broke the news. And ATC's Linda Wertheimer became the first reporter to broadcast from the Senate when she covered live the congressional debate on the Panama Canal treaty.

The government-funded network also avoids other stories it should be covering, Pacifica reporters say. "We're less timid about controversial stories," one Washington Pacifica reporter said. "And NPR does not have a political perspective," she added.

By mid afternoon, the White House watcher has not been found and the idea is shelved, at least for the day's program. Carter's Cabinet maneuvers are analysed instead by former presidential speechwriter James Fallows, who drops into NPR's Washington, D.C. studio on a few hours' notice to make a tape; by former CBS reporter Daniel Schorr, a regular commentator on NPR; by Seymour Lipset, who is recorded via telephone from California, and by the editor of the daily Oklahoma newspaper, *The Tulsa World*.

This last commentator, whose Midwest drawl is distinct despite the telephone-tape static, presents a view from "the heartland" to balance the Washington orientation and "elitism" that NPR is often criticized for.

Minorities.

ATC's 3 1/2 million audience is 90 percent white, 56 percent college-educated and relatively affluent, according to a Roper survey that NPR brass watch as closely as television executives monitor Nielsen ratings. The show's staff reflects these demographics, although a conscious "affirmative action" campaign at NPR has meant that women hold many of the top reporting

jobs. ("We've never had a female producer of ATC, though," one NPR staffer points out.)

NPR "in no way touches the minority population in this country," one former staffer says. It is this image that network President Frank Mankiewicz says he is committed to changing. "We're finding that as our audience grows, its characteristics become closer to the general audience," said the former press secretary of Robert Kennedy, former campaign manager of presidential aspirant Sen. George McGovern, former journalist and lawyer who joined NPR in 1977. "Our listeners are now about 10 percent non-white and last year this was the fastest growing part of our audience."

Mankiewicz is credited with giving NPR a new visibility that has increased its audience to almost 5 million. He doubled the size of the news staff, hired professionals such as the former Washington bureau chief of *New Times* magazine, lobbied successfully for increased government funding and shook up the organization's upper echelons.

Mankiewicz also expanded the network's "division of special projects," which has two goals: to improve the network's awareness of "minority" concerns in regular programs and hiring practices, and to develop programs to expand NPR's audience. "Minority" is broadly defined at NPR and the division's special projects include those for women, Native Americans, Hispanics, Blacks, Asians, the handicapped, senior citizens and children. Among the programs are *Enfoque Nacional*, a Spanish-language news program, and "Crossroads," which features interviews with prominent minority leaders and artists.

NPR is also broadcasting more "general audience" programs that will appeal to a broader audience. These include *Jazz Alive!*—a weekly program of taped live performances that boasts the largest audience of any jazz show on network radio—and a radio serial of "Star Wars." A new morning news program similar to *All Things Considered* will be aired from 6:00 to 8:00 a.m., beginning November 5. Other NPR offerings include *Masterpiece Radio Theater*; Shakespeare festival; live coverage of the Los Angeles and San Francisco Philharmonic orchestras; "Earplay," original radio dramas by the likes of Edward Albee, John Irving and John Gardner; National Press Club luncheons, and the upcoming 12-part series, "A Question of Place," portraits of artists and thinkers like James Joyce, Bertolt Brecht and Claude Levi-Strauss.

Radio vs. television.

NPR's money comes from the 12-year-old Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), created and funded by Congress. "We have a strange, incestuous relationship with CPB," one network official said. "On the one hand, they're right next door and a lot of the people working for NPR used for work for CPB



Steve Kagan

and vice-versa. On the other hand, we have big fights with them over funding," he said.

CPB must also support the country's noncommercial television network and has traditionally "favored TV over radio," according to several NPR staffers. Television costs are substantially higher than radio's and CPB has doled out the public grants to reflect that. Nonetheless, NPR's budget climbed from \$8.5 million to \$12.5 million last year.

Next year, NPR expects to get a much larger share of the CPB pie. The radio network has been getting less than 10 percent of CPB's budget; next year that percentage is expected to reach 25. "We told CPB that they're never going to be able to create a top alternative TV network in this country, but that they do have a chance of creating a real alternative radio network," one NPR executive said.

Before NPR is a "real alternative radio network," certain problems will have to be dealt with. First, an estimated 34 of the 100 largest metropolitan areas are still not served by a local public radio station; only half the country has access to public radio.

In addition, despite its devoted fans, ATC and the rest of NPR's programming is only marginally successful in certain spots that do have public radio, like New York and Chicago. Sometimes the weakness is because of the alternative information sources available, but it is also because of the caliber of stations carrying NPR. In New York,



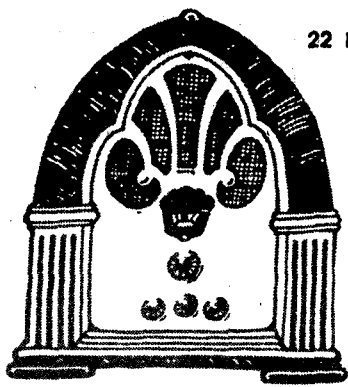
Top to bottom: Community radio volunteers read newspapers on a program for the blind; the New York Pacifica station, WBAI; NPR's Susan Stenberg.

for example, the NPR station is city-owned and feels the financial crunch that other city agencies are also feeling. In Chicago, NPR is broadcast on WBEZ, which is owned by the board of education. As an example of its commitment to public radio, the board shut down WBEZ for three days when Mayor Daley died.

NPR also loses stations when they can no longer meet the network's syndication requirements: broadcast 18 hours a day, a \$100,000 annual budget and hire at

least seven full-time paid staff.

Mankiewicz speaks of strengthening NPR, perhaps through the network owning and operating its own stations. NPR is currently in the process of being connected to the Westar satellite (used by PBS), which will enable the network to send out four to 20 different shows at once at less cost than it now takes to send out one. In addition, the satellite connection will allow stations to create "mini-networks" to air programs of concern to a particular region. ■



"Now the NFCB is asked to help make policy, instead of hearing about it after the fact."

Lobbying dispells myths on Capitol Hill

Community radio's new visibility has a lot to do with lobbying by the Washington-based NFCB.

"The NFCB's filings have been among the best and most comprehensive received," says Frank Lloyd, administrative aide to the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, Charles Ferris. "Their credibility here is quite high."

Last year, the NFCB's proposals for a major review of non-commercial radio by the FCC were adopted almost without modification by the Commission. The new rules reduce the status of the 10-watt "hobby" stations that have sometimes blocked community radio's development, create a minimum broadcast schedule requirement, and set aside new space for non-commercial stations on the FM band.

The NFCB has also been outspoken in its advocacy of a

proposed requirement for public participation in public broadcasting stations.

In its testimony before the House Subcommittee on Communications for a proposed rewrite of the Communications Act, the Federation pointed out that "in many cases public licensees are held by Boards of Regents or Trustees whose principal energies are devoted to other areas of institutional operations and who may not even reside in the service area of their own station. In these instances, a community advisory board (for example) can take on an important role in directing a station's work and assuring its responsiveness to those it serves."

Community radio lobbyists are now showing up at the relentless round of hearings, rule-making procedures and policy meetings where critical decisions are made. NFCB executive di-

rector Tom Thomas, associate director Terry Clifford and others recently participated in CPB's review of its funding priorities, Congressional hearings on public radio legislation, an HEW advisory pane, and the Carnegie Commission's recent review of public broadcasting.

Another important function of the NFCB is dispelling the myths about community radio.

"When Terry and I first arrived in Washington we continually encountered the stereotype of community broadcasting as interesting, innovative and creative radio that was poorly organized and financed in addition to being generally obnoxious and hostile to the D.C. establishment," Thomas recalls.

"No longer—now we're being asked to help develop policies instead of hearing about them after the fact."

—Richard Mahler

Conference builds program links, airs stations' conflicts

BY ALAN SNITOW

"THE NATIONAL FEDERATION of Community Broadcasters has outgrown the consensus of self-perception upon which it was founded."

Responding to this call for the NFCB's fifth national conference, more than fifty broadcast organizations gathered at a college campus near Olympia, Washington in August to plan the course of a movement that only a few years ago was just "a lot of dreams." Participants were for the most part young and white, men and women. Many identify themselves as supporters of the anti-war, civil rights and counter-culture movements of the '60s.

This year the mood at the conference had changed dramatically. Community activists were now experienced managers and staffs of radio stations. Although still small and underfunded, the stations are no longer merely "the poor ones" in the world of non-commercial radio. "Community radio stations," said NFCB President Tom Thomas, "have finally reached a point of

critical mass."

The '70s were years of hardship and slow growth for community radio, but the enormous optimism at the conference is reflected in awards garnered by community stations for their programs this year and in the increased recognition of NFCB's influence in the public broadcasting bureaucracy in Washington (see sidebar).

To better blend with the assembled participants, representatives from the Federal Communications Commission, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, and National Public Radio shed their capitol cloakroom garb for jeans and radio station promotional T-shirts. Community radio people continue to distrust national bureaucracies. That distrust also extends to the possible expansion of NFCB operations into national and regional projects.

"Is it possible," asked Tom Thomas, "to take on new regional and national projects without losing some of the key elements in the identity of the local stations as they now operate?" At this conference NFCB initiated a national planning process for community radio aimed at answering that question and at providing guidelines for development in the coming decade.

One new proposal calls for expansion of the NFCB program service, which already distributes programs to more than 130 non-commercial stations. A part of that expansion might include the development of regional production centers to attract independent producers, as well as providing increased facilities for station-based programmers. Some station representatives pointed to NPR as an example of how the stated concept of "decentralization of program sources" can still lead to an inaccessible and isolated national bureaucracy. The same reservations were expressed about proposals for increased use of the new public radio satellite system and the development of a national newscast by the Pacifica Radio group. (see p. 23). However, optimism seemed to override most people's doubts.

The other issue before NFCB was the continuing poor record of both community and other non-commercial radio to adequately speak to the needs of third world communities. A caucus of third world NFCB members proposed two thrusts for the federation during the next year. The first was integration of the now largely white station staffs, and increased programming to serve third world communities. The caucus criticized minority program "modules" in an otherwise white format.

The second element in the program is increasing minority ownership of community based stations. NFCB's national office in Washington has long concentrated on assisting community groups through the federal maze

and onto the airwaves. "Our expansion," says Thomas, "is based on the opening of completely new stations."

The conference concluded with the election of a new NFCB steering committee, including women's and third world participation. This group in consultation with the stations will carry through the planning project.

As the more than two hundred conference participants started to leave the final meeting, NFCB chair Bruce Theriault of station KTOO in Juneau, Alaska, rose and spread his arms in benediction: "Spread the word."

Soon: nightly national news from community radio

BY PAT AUFDERHEIDE

ALAN SNITOW IS NEWS director at KPFA, the founding Pacifica station in Berkeley, and a member of the steering committee of the National Federation of Community Broadcasters. After seven years at the station, he is now working on news programming for the Pacifica Foundation, which holds the licenses for the five major Pacifica stations (Houston, New York, Washington D.C., Los Angeles and the Bay Area). He talks here about Pacifica's plans for a national nightly news broadcast.

Why is Pacifica starting a national news service?

The aim is to put together community and noncommercial stations around the country into

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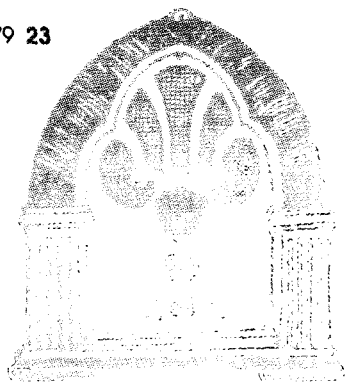
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"Some radio people are afraid of making an impact. It can be consoling to be an outsider, a rebel."



Alan Smitow.

a network that will provide, for the first time, a progressive arena for news. It's a direct challenge to the networks, both commercial and noncommercial, in radio. How would it differ from NPR, as well as from CBS?

It will be a movement network; its purpose is to build a movement of community radio, as well as to challenge the network.

When you're doing news, you can provide an instant analysis and interpretation. Progressive media as a whole are shunted aside into weekly or monthly publications, or even quarterly. They can't reach people immediately. On a day-to-day basis at a national level, we can do that. We were able, for thousands of people in the Bay Area, to interpret Three Mile Island, while the major media were still peddling NRC press releases.

Most people are used to getting their news mostly from broadcast media, in some combination with entertainment and with a live sound. If we can do that, we can attract more listeners and more attention and begin to challenge the way things are being interpreted, on a daily basis.

Do the Pacifica stations share a perspective or a philosophy from

which to do that interpretation?

It's more a gestalt than a philosophy. They'd be likely to be antiwar, countercultural, and many people would identify themselves as left or movement people. But it's a united front, a broad perspective that would generally be considered progressive.

Differences arise mostly within the progressive perspective, and then there's usually an intense battle. In the early '70s there was a series of fights over the direction of the stations—whether there was going to be third world programming, women's programming, gay programming, what form it would take, how to relate to political movements. All of these things came with the departure of a crowd of people who had been doing radio throughout the antiwar years.

The task of the '70s has been defining the direction of the stations—how to avoid sectarianism. It has been resolved at various points. Our task is to be a forum or arena informed by a political perspective or a broad consensus on the issues and on the quality of the debate. Why is it better to have a national news service than the current locally-produced programs on Pacifica stations?

Because you can do both better this way. Look, every day I produce an international, national, regional, state and local news 45 minute broadcast. It's silly to do that on every station around the country. Our staff is 1 and 1/4 paid people. The only way to make any kind of an advance is to take that step of creating a division of labor.

You cannot gain the attention of people who are politically active in this society if you are not organized on a national basis. Most union members belong to international unions; they have to deal with national power, with national corporations. They are looking for ways of combining local with national clout.

Is the shape of the information, as well as the interpretation, different from network news?

Yes—typically community radio broadcast spends more time on news than commercial stations do. We give some time to a particular story, and try to give more information. Commercial stations don't do half hour newscasts. You don't find a lot of stories two and three minutes long. And you don't find a lot of hard news on NPR either, because they do a lot of features.

Are the sources of information different?

In Washington there is a fraternity of reporters and newsmakers, and that fraternity is an obstacle to people finding out what's going on. Of course, if we stay outside we won't get some things. The CIA will never use us to leak information.

We might find, though, that office workers find documents that they'll share with us. There are other ways of getting source information, more problematic ones and more interesting. There is a growing possibility that will happen as white collar workers organize. These people have stuff coming across their desks that concerns every conceivable form of corruption in business and government.

How many people will a Pacifica national news service reach?

Initially, half a million people. We're aiming for June 1980, with Pacifica stations.

What makes this possible is the satellite. For \$30 for 30 minutes, you can put up on a satellite a half-hour newscast that will be received simultaneously with high quality by 200 stations around the country.

Right now there is a crisis and a major opening—a very brief opening. There are elements of the new communications technologies that the corporations have not yet figured out how to package, where they can't control it because it seems so democratic. But they will find a way.

For a short period of time there's a possibility to get in and get on. We want to take that short period of time—two or three years—and establish a national news service.

Does that require special equipment?

Yes, and it's very expensive equipment. But the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) has decided that for public radio the thing of the future is to give 200 stations receiving dishes. So the equipment is being donated, mostly to NPR stations.

The government gives appropriations to the CPB, and under that is PBS, for television, and NPR, the radio production unit. CPB defines which stations are eligible for CPB monies, and all other CPB stations but Pacifica are members of NPR.

Who will you offer your service to?

To public radio stations, around 250 of them. There are major gaps—Chicago has a terrible public station, and Cleveland has none at all.

Many progressive stations are not CPB qualified. They may be important voices in the community and might be well-served by

a national newscast, but may not have the budget or the staff to qualify for one of the receiving dishes. So these stations will have to figure out how to get the material from the satellite—perhaps make arrangements with another station to take it or link up by phones.

These are engineering and money problems.

Are the major problems at this stage technical ones?

There are two frustrations with this project. One has to do with technical aspects and the other has to do with the stations. Most community stations—in fact, most of the progressive media as a whole—have a justified fear that they're not doing an effective job at the local level.

But there's also a sense that a more-than-local organization will be a threat. It's not a threat to their autonomy—that is never really the issue. But I think there is a fear of having any impact.

There's something very important and self-consoling about always being the rebel, on the outside, not being able to have any political power. So it's a constant job to convince people

that they are radio journalists, a force in their communities, and a major one if they have some sense of where they can impinge on a situation.

I think too people are coming out of a long phase of shell-shock, and feeling that if there's any kind of public disagreement on the left, that's destructive. For people who have not had any impact, who have no sense of their power to elicit a response, you have to start somewhere getting a response. We'd better start with ourselves, if we are going to have any sense that we can do that with other sectors of the population.

There's also a common belief that the only effective media are not ours, but the alien media that always seem to be crushing us. Often people do not relate to Pacifica, to ITT, and other progressive media in the country as the infrastructure for a challenge to precisely what everybody's complaining about: CBS, the Washington Post, the L.A. Times and so on. We have to insist and make sure that what we are doing is important, and that it has an impact.

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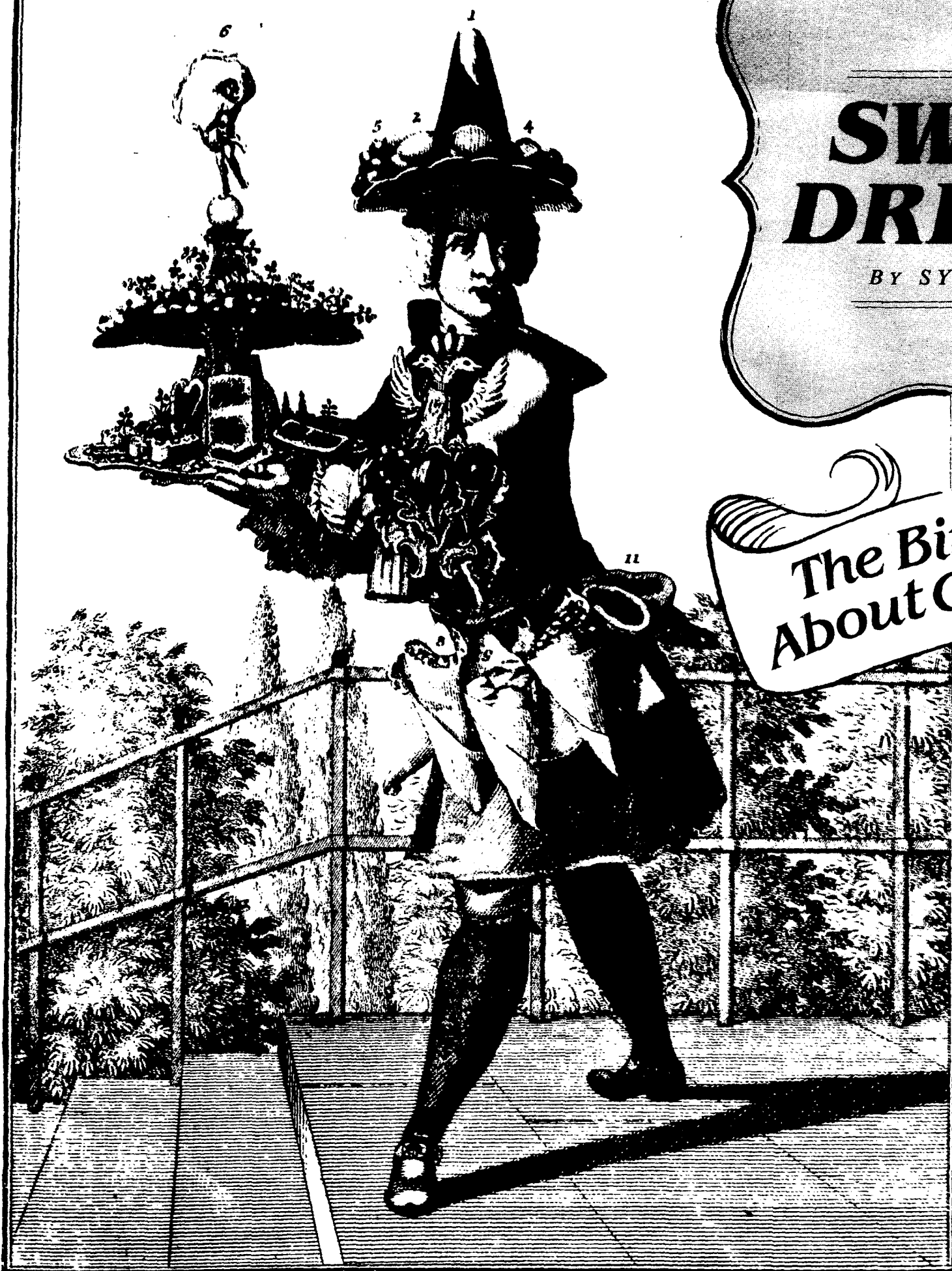


"Let's divide the earth up into little squares and sell them."

SWEET DREAMS

BY SYLVIA HELM

The Bitter Truth About Good Taste



IT'S MORE THAN JUST A TASTE PREFERENCE, it's an addiction—a craving (did it start in childhood?) for sugar. Twenty-six teaspoons per person per day, 100 pounds of sugar a year consumed by the average American, so says the USDA.

You don't think you gobbled down your 26 teaspoons of refined sugar today, yesterday, or any day in recent memory? Think again. You can get your daily fix from a variety of products, including, but not limited to Baco's, Heinz spaghetti, sausage and bacon links, Goya corned beef, "Tender Chunk" chicken. Vegetarians can get their sugar fix from liquid-packed canned corn, Del Monte peas and carrots, Rokeach borscht, Kraft "Pure Tree-Ripened Fruit Salad," crackers, peanut butter and/or jelly. And if you really want to mainline your habit, there's no better way than cold cereal—Sugar Smacks, for example, which are more sugar than anything else. So are Alphabits, Froot Loops, and Apple Jacks, among others. Sugar is also the #1 ingredient in Shake 'n Bake (pork-flavored), Ovaltine and Nestea.

Forget that stuff mother told you about avoiding sweets and snacks. You

can get more sugar from Heinz Tomato Catsup (29 per cent) and Coffee-Mate (65 per cent) than from a Hershey bar (51 per cent) or Coke (only an embarrassing 10 per cent sugar—Wishbone Russian Dressing has three times as much). Almost 90 percent of what you buy in a box of Jell-O is sugar.

"The list of food items that contain sugar is pervasive," says Congressman Peter Peyser (D-N.Y.). "Sugar is in 60 per cent of the products we consume—and that's a very conservative figure," says Congresswoman Margaret Heckler (R-Mass.). Heckler and Peyser, however, are concerned not so much with the astonishing rate at which Americans consume sugar as with the frightening rate at which we subsidize it. A commodity that sells for about eight cents a pound everywhere else in the world costs 15 cents when it enters the Port of New York.

"At the present time," says Peyser, "the government adds more than 6.1 cents a pound to the price of sugar by imposing an import fee and duty. As a result, it's costing the nation's consumers more than \$1.3 billion a year in higher, government-mandated sugar prices."

To protect our domestic sugar indus-

try from unfair foreign competition, representatives Thomas Foley (Washington—sugar beets) and Al Ullman (Oregon—sugar beets) introduced HR #2172, a bill to boost the price support to 16.1 cents. Senator Frank Church has introduced a bill to guarantee the sugar growers in his state, Idaho, 17 cents a pound. Who will be deciding the fate of that bill? Senator Russell Long (Louisiana—sugar cane), for one. Long chairs the Senate's Finance Committee and sits on its Tourism and Sugar subcommittee.

"The support price becomes the effective floor on the price of sugar in this country," says Abby Milstein, director of research for the Department of Consumer Affairs. "Domestic growers will never sell sugar under the support price. Instead, they can get a loan from the government at the support price rate. The collateral on the loan is the crop. If they default, the government, in effect, buys the crop. Right now the government has sugar oozing out of its storage spaces."

Who benefits from these price supports? What poor farmer are we protecting from Latin American and Philippine sugar producers? At present, sugar supports totaling \$160 million go to seven

producers, according to Citizens Against Sugar Hikes, a coalition of groups that includes the Consumer Federation of America, Common Cause, and the American Association of Retired Persons. Our subsidies will help struggling corporate giants like Great Western, Gulf + Western, Amstar and the U.S. Sugar Corporation.

"U.S. Sugar Corporation," says Peyser, "would reap an additional \$3,180,000 in the first year of the program. Nearly two million additional federal dollars would fall to Gulf + Western. Yet for fiscal 1978, that company reported sharp gains in sales and earnings, and closed the year with the highest earnings in its history. In its annual report, Gulf + Western acknowledged that higher domestic sugar supports contributed greatly to its profits."

Peyser and Heckler lead House opposition to the increases. The results so far are not encouraging. The bill came out of the House Agriculture Committee with a 29-9 vote in favor of the 15.8 cent price support. On July 19, by a 16-13 vote, the House Ways and Means Committee agreed to the increase. The House bill also contains an escalator clause, under which the price can go up another 7 percent to 16.9 cents in 1980 and 18.1 cents in 1981.

"The estimated impact," Heckler says, "has been brought into the \$1.3 billion range. With the escalator clause, the price will go up every year for three years, and the consumer will feel it in all of the invisible but heavy-saturation items."

"Sugar prices are 33 percent higher than they were just two years ago," says Peyser. "It's not just the price on the five-pound bag of sugar, it's an ingredient in hundreds of grocery items."

According to Department of Consumer Affairs figures, 70 percent of our sugar consumption is from processed and prepared foods. Although food manufacturers don't have to list the amount of sugar in a product, a good indicator of its presence is prominence in the list of contents. Any food that names it among the first five ingredients is, in all likelihood, mainly sugar. Eating 11 lion tons of sugar a year is bound to cost us something. So what's a few billion dollars between friends? One hundred pounds, per person, per year. Pass the spoon.

